

JPRS-EER-87-054

6 APRIL 1987

East Europe Report



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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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SHORTAGE OF AGRONOMISTS DEPLORED

Sofia KOOPERATIVNO SELO in Bulgarian 27 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by Toncho Tonev, chairman of the Control Council of the Okrug Agroindustrial Union in Ruse and chairman of the Scientific Society of Agronomists in Ruse Okrug: "Why Are There Not Enough Agronomists?"]

[Text] It is generally known that many agricultural specialists have left the countryside in parallel with the migration of the labor force. To a certain degree this has been natural. Scientific and technical progress leads to an increase in the demand for administrative, specialized, service and scientific units in the okrug centers. This is why at present 54 percent of all the agronomists working in Ruse Okrug are on the staff of 36 institutions and enterprises in the okrug city. Of those working on the APK [agroindustrial complex] only 11 percent are under the age of 30 and scarcely 21 percent have a length of employment of up to 10 years. These are facts which clearly confirm that the young specialists avoid direct work in agricultural production and that they are not retained in it. It must be added that the situation with zootechnicians and veterinarians differs. At present, a predominant portion of the staffs of the APK which require a higher education is held by persons with a secondary education.

What are the reasons for the departure of specialists from the countryside? This question requires a very profound and diverse answer. Personally I feel that one of the main reasons is the wages of these specialists. These do not conform either to the difficulty or the duration of their working day. Most of the time they do not even have a 5-day work week but (if they want to do well in their work) at times do not even have an annual vacation and all holidays. For this reason we feel that these questions must be settled first.

I am convinced that first of all it is imperative to satisfy all the sociodomeestic needs of the specialists such as housing, heating, transport, meals, work clothes, rest and leisure and so forth. What prevents the young agronomists, zootechnicians and others from having such amenities as have been correctly given to the rural teachers, for example? We must continue building single-family housing which will be granted gratis to the young specialists in return for a contract. In Ruse Okrug, such housing already exists at four complexes. Construction is planned in the remaining APK.

Moreover, I feel that all the specialists without fail should undergo specialization courses for a certain time, approximately 5 years. And for obtaining additional knowledge, by taking examinations, they will be given a class qualification such as presently the case with teachers and physicians.

I think that the introduction of self-administration in the labor collectives will make it possible to avoid a very important weakness which presently exists in our agricultural production. We all know how few rights the actual immediate leaders of this production have. The agronomist or engineer, the brigade leader in practice cannot himself decide upon either the hiring or firing of the personnel or relationships with the trade, economic and scientific organizations. The setting of the production quotas "from above" for even the smallest details impedes the initiative and creativity of the specialists and reduces their professional self-esteem. It is a question of honor and professional trust to return these rights to the agricultural specialist!

Public support for the agronomist profession will also play a role as at present this is among the "scarce" professions. For this reason in Ruse we have established a scientific society of agronomists in the okrug and this may also be joined by the agrarian economists. As a collective member of the Union of Scientific Workers in Bulgaria, it has been decided to establish the Agronomist Club in Ruse. We are seeking effective and welcomed forms and methods of work in order to be useful.

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DEVELOPMENT OF GRAIN CROPS WITH LIMITED WATER SUPPLY SURVEYED

More Attention to Grain Crops

Sofia KOOPERATIVNO SELO in Bulgarian 27 Jan 87 p 1

[Editorial: "To the Great Goal of More Grain and Feed Grain"]

[Text] The present of our nation is linked to substantial changes in all areas of the economy. Top achievements in scientific and technical progress more and more are being established as the basic lever for qualitatively new growth. In agriculture, along with modernization, self-management and self-financing, agroecological procedures for intensification and scientifically based restructuring of agriculture are being intensely applied.

But grain production remains the main strategic direction during the 9th Five-Year Plan. Tastes are changing, the diversity of our table is increasing but demands are also rising. Grain remains the gold stock of modern intensive farming. This is quite natural. Because more grain means more meat, milk and eggs as well as everything produced from them. And this means a balanced and rational diet.

The nation's grain producers have finished the first year of the five-year plan and entered the second year with mixed feelings. The 1986 counterplan was not fulfilled. In spite of the fact that the average yields and for per capita production again ranked among the best in the world.

Possibly this and what we achieved in 1982, with 10 million tons, are the reason for the widespread acceptance that grain production is the most recognized, best known and most suitable for management and intensification in farming. There is a large grain of truth in this.

But a closer examination shows that this is not the entire truth. Because the districts, the APX [agroindustrial complex] and brigades with the same or very close conditions and with the same capabilities, obtain different results. This was the case last year. In wheat production, Sliven Okrug outstripped Burgas, Khaskovo, Yambol, Plovdiv and Stara Zagora Okrugs by from 30 to 90 kg per decare. The same thing applies to Razgrad in comparison with Ruse, Varna, Shumen, Tolbukhin Okrugs and other typical producers of the region.

This was also the case with the production of barley and corn.

Some unsatisfactory results are due not only to objective factors. They are due to the weaker activeness and involvement of the specialists and technicians in shaping and managing the crop as well as to the inertia and traditionalism which frequently hold us back.

The autumn planting also reflects precisely this. The new method of agricultural planning for 1987 was widely welcomed on all levels. But it was not correctly understood everywhere and as a result of this in the autumn the plantings were 562,000 decares less of wheat and 165,000 decares less of barley. This reduction was felt most in Yambol, Varna, Stara Zagora, Veliko Turnovo, Khaskovo and other okrugs. Logically the question arises: Is the reduced area a prerequisite for certainty of the end result, when we know what surprises are brought by the weather not only in the summer but also in the spring?

The sowing was organized very well, its quality was high in most areas of the nation. But a dry period lasted 6 weeks after the sowing and close to 1 million decares of winter crops did not sprout on time and develop as they should. Of the 2.8 million decares planted on irrigated land, only 205,000 had been irrigated.

We must not only recognize but be well aware that these mistakes will scarcely be a good guarantee for achieving high results. For this reason from now on they oblige us to more attentively and accurately observe production discipline in tending the plantings and to carry out the recommendations for their optimum tending during each phase of their development.

The dates for nitrogen fertilizing must be precisely observed so that by the end of February this is completed throughout the nation. All possibilities must be employed for intensive methods including leaf topdressing with microfertilizers, prompt and precise combating of weeds, diseases and pests. And then ideal preparations for the harvesting.

From now on there must be exceptional attention paid to the spring crops. And primarily to corn as we are counting greatly on its grain. In growing this crop in our nation, the differences between the potential and the production are even more striking than for the winter crops. Over the last few years average production for the nation has increased by a little more than 20 percent while in Razgrad, Veliko Turnovo, Pleven, Pazardzhik, Ruse, Shumen and Vratsa Okrugs the growth has been between 140 and 180 percent! This example needs no commentary.

Sowing days are not far off. The sooner one thinks of these the easier they will be. The information that the brigades in Razgrad, Khlebarovo and Kubrat, in Selanovtsi, Trustenik, in Burgas and in Slivo Pole have leveled all their areas for corn and that they have readied their areas for the spring offensive is surely incomplete and surely there are others like them. But this does show how much has been done there by the technicians and equipment operators for the crop. Because in the spring, they will start their planting without

wasting time and without harassing the land with excessive tilling. In this manner moisture will be kept.

But many have not followed their example. Many follow the old ways. In spite of the advice and recommendations and in spite of the equipment provided them. Scientific workers from the Corn Institute are constantly reminding us to eliminate the harmful infatuation in planting only late hybrids; to pay exceptional attention to production discipline; to work in a differentiated manner on each field. The crop should be managed also by economic methods.

And we must not forget that a large portion of the unplanted winter grains must be replaced chiefly by corn. Will the brigades find suitable land which they will not only plant but also reap a high harvest? It is the obligation of the Varietal Seed and Planting Stock Economic Association to see to it that these additional amounts of seed are available and have high planting indicators. High quality, production discipline and a differentiated scientific approach -- these are the levers which promptly and correctly operated will show the way forward to intensification and a rise in grain production.

Wheat Breeding Progress

Sofia KOOPERATIVNO SELO in Bulgarian 29 Jan 87 pp 1, 2

[Article by Aleksandur Karaivanov, senior science associate 1st degree of agricultural sciences, Kosta Gotsov, senior science associate 1st degree, doctor, and Ivan Panayotov, senior science associate, doctor, of the Dobrudzha Institute: "The Ability to Choose and Correctly Evaluate"]

[Text] The last 4 years have been difficult for our agriculture. This also applies to our most stable grain crop, wheat. The severe droughts which came one after another (particularly 1983 and 1985) posed a major testing for the intensive varieties. Their resistance to lodging, their resistance to diseases, their productivity which under normal or good years determine the amount of the crop are at present virtually unimportant. The only factor which determines the end result is the drought resistance. If we knew with certainty that the droughts would continue for many years to come, then selection should be aimed at developing varieties with fewer genetic endowments, with less resistance to diseases, but with greater drought resistance and greater ecological plasticity. The data on precipitation over some 100 years indicate that there is no 11-year cycle, that the driest years (1898, 1918, 1927, 1949, 1983 and 1985) were spread out, and that as an average dry years were around 20-30 percent while the remainder with normal and good conditions for the wheat generally prevail. For this reason wheat has long been considered by the people as the most stable crop for the nation's conditions. During this 100-year period, there were only two instances when droughts were more extended, that is, 1947-1949 and 1983-1986.

Because of the recent, most extended dry period there has been a wide discussion of the qualities of the widespread intensive wheat varieties and their participation in the structure of the planted area. The most contradictory ideas and subjective values have been put forward, in attempting

to play down or even deny the great achievements of our selection work. Particularly contradictory and most often incorrect are the judgments concerning certain of the varieties with the highest productive possibilities, such as, for example, Pliska.

This requires that we provide a clear, accurate and concrete answer to many important questions related to the actual qualities of these varieties and their performance under the conditions of bad climatic conditions. This is not a question merely of the prestige of one or another breeder or institute but rather of obtaining the largest possible amount of grain. Moreover, in correctly assessing the results of the work done up to now, it will be possible to best describe the future prospects and the selection strategy for developing new wheat varieties.

The overall assessment of the qualities of the presently regionized and widespread wheat varieties is completely positive. Sadovo-1 is one of the most stable, particularly in dry years, and resistant to both lodging and diseases. It has long been the main variety for the nation. Sadovo-1 is the most vivid example of the second group of wheats, that is, with wider ecological plasticity and higher drought resistance as well as with lower demands on the level of farming practices and soil fertility. In this group one could also put the new varieties and candidate varieties which have performed best in the system of the State Varietal Commission in the last dry years, and including: Yantur, Zlatostroy, Katya, Momchil, Yasen, Mir, Vulshebnitsa, and others. They surpassed Sadovo-1 during this period by an average of 3-4 percent. They have enriched the second group of wheats suitable for poorer soils, for dryer areas and for drought years.

However, in order to obtain high yields, particularly in average or good years, our wheat production requires another group of varieties with very great genetic potential. These should produce very high yields with good conditions and intensive farming and not drop under the yield of the varieties in the second group in bad years.

As an example, one could point to the data concerning Pliska variety which is presently considered the best representative in the first group of wheats. Over the last 8 years, the variety has produced an average of 766 kg of grain per decare at the Institute for Wheat and Sunflower, in surpassing Sadovo-1 by 76 kg (11 percent). At the State Varietal Commission over the same period, the excess over Sadovo-1 averaged 3.7 percent. Just in the good years of 1978-1982, this variety surpassed the standard at the IPS [Institute for Wheat and Sunflower] by 140 kg (19.3 percent), and in state varietal testing by 48 kg (7.4 percent). Over the last bad years, the yield of Pliska in our country was 643 kg per decare, or 99.3 percent in comparison with Sadovo-1 and surpassed the standard in state varietal testing by the same percentage.

We are profoundly convinced that the major successes in wheat production of our nation and which rank it in a leading place in terms of yields among the Southern European countries are largely due to the combining of the varieties from the two groups, depending upon the agroecological areas of the nation. These successes could have been even greater and more stable if the level of the varieties from the two groups had been higher, particularly in varieties

of the first group which must play the decisive role in the varietal structure.

For this reason our strategy in wheat selection is to work in the two areas, in paying particular attention to increasing productiveness, without underestimating stability and ecological plasticity and without setting these two areas into opposition with one another or denying them.

It is true that at present, both in our nation and abroad, the growth rate of productivity is dropping and that the sources of productivity have largely been depleted, that the classic methods are out of date and that new ones have not yet been assimilated for developing a new genetic plasma. But in spite of this our selection must develop new, even more productive wheat varieties with high and stable yields.

The selection gardens have gained rich material but the extreme droughts in recent years have prevented a correct assessment of their true productivity. The yields of the two areas are equal, the differences between the standard Sadovo-1 and the new lines are slight and do not serve as a sound basis for an effective choice.

In 1984, the candidate variety Stozher and several other lines with a single irrigation produced from 1,200 to 1,252 kg of grain per decare. Indicative in this regard are the data of the DSK [State Varietal Commission] and from which one can see that the differences in yields between the most recent materials and the old varieties is very slight or completely absent. These results are instructive but at the same time they must be approached very critically. Of our candidates, the best properties are found in the varieties with a longer stem, a greater proclivity for lodging, regardless of resistance to disease and more average productive potential such as Yasen, Dunavka and others. It is obvious that this biotype has greater adaptive possibilities and better tolerates bad conditions. At the same time, the varieties which proved well in our experimental fields in 1984 and which are known to have much higher productivity than those mentioned, in the DSK system ranked in the last places and were culled or lodged.

Thus, in generalizing the results of state varietal testing for wheat, without considering the specific conditions in recent years, we must not exclude recognition of the varieties which generally speaking have meager productive capabilities but are more plastic. At the same time, it would be possible to discard the materials with greater productive potential which are suitable and absolutely essential for normal or good years.

There is no doubt that both up to now and in the future the general line of amelioration work with wheat remains a rise in productive potential. The materials which are presently being put down in the selection gardens will become varieties after at least 10 years.

No compromises must be made with productivity, regardless of the conditions in one or another field. Along with varieties with very high productive possibilities there must also be varieties with wider ecological plasticity and which can utilize water and nutrients most economically.

In determining a correct selection strategy, very important is the question of combining productiveness and ecological plasticity on different levels in the two areas. Scientific breeders and geneticists are well aware that high productiveness in wheat, as in other crops, involves higher demands on growing conditions. Consequently, it is unrealistic to expect that the most productive varieties will simultaneously have the greatest adaptability to external conditions. But regardless of this, efforts must categorically be directed in this path. Using the intensive varieties and intensive farming methods, the nation obtained in the bad years of 1983 and 1985 as much grain as in the best years 15-20 years ago. This is one of the strongest confirmations of the correctness of this direction.

It can be definitely said that the Bulgarian wheat varieties of the two directions meet the requirements of wheat production. However, we are confronted with a new stage in the development of its breeding. The biological factor in this production must be raised to a higher level.

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TRANSPORT MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON 1987 TASKS

East Berlin DDR-VERKEHR in German Vol 28 No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 12 Nov 86) pp 2-4, 28-21

[Interview with Otto Arndt—date and place of interview not indicated]

[Text] [Question] Comrade minister, at the time of this interview the first year of the current 5-year plan period is coming to the end. What does the balance sheet of the working people in transportation look like?

[Answer] The bottom line is generally good. As in all other sectors of the national economy, the working people of the united socialist transportation system in the GDR also recorded their best performance yet in this year of the 11th SED Party Congress.

By their responsible efforts, our workers contributed to strengthen the economy of our republic and consequently to the preservation of peace.

The railroads represent the most important branch of transportation and realized more than 75 percent of total freight performance in inland traffic. In this sector as well as in international traffic, the railroads carried a total of 345 million tons freight. As the result of our resolute efforts and the assistance provided by the other sectors of the national economy, the railroads achieved the highest ever load result of any month in November last—the daily average amounted to 937 kilotons (with 916 kilotons accounted for by inland traffic). The annual average utilization of freight cars was raised by 60 kg per car. In 1986, 5 percent more freight was carried in large containers than in the previous year.

As planned, overhead lines on 296 km railroad sections were constructed within the framework of the central youth object "electrification of railroad sections." Inland shipping carried 11 million tons freight in inland traffic, 6 percent more than in the previous year. It raised its freight transport performance by 10 percent.

The freight transport performance in marine shipping increased by 10 percent. At 25.4 million tons, freight turnover amounted to 0.3 million tons more than in the preceding year. Rail ferry operations began as planned between the GDR and the USSR.

Public transport carries a daily average of 11.2 million people. We continued the development of transportation facilities in the new residential districts of the national capital and in the district capitals. In general all transportation tasks involving commuter and student traffic were accomplished. Still, we need to further improve the punctuality of passenger trains, in particular high-speed trains.

The necessary transportation-side conditions were created to safeguard supplies to the public and the transportation tasks of the various sectors of the national economy, including stockpiling for winter.

[Question] The assignments to be handled by the transportation system in 1987 are surely no smaller. Would you please tell us where the emphases lie?

[Answer] You are quite right. The 1987 plan is extremely challenging for the GDR transportation system, too. It required much political responsibility coupled with relevance to the realities of our situation to cope with the various stages of its elaboration.

The increasingly better satisfaction of our citizens' wishes for greater mobility and better quality with regard to passenger traffic as well as the guarantee of the dynamic growth of our national economy call on us to even more emphasize in 1987 the intensification of national transportation processes and more resolutely implement all 10 key points of the economic strategy.

In order to implement the 11th SED Party Congress resolutions, we are directing our transportation conception to the following key issues:

1. The realization of a better quality performance offer in commuter, student and tourist traffic;
2. Safeguarding the nationally warranted transportation demand by rational technologies and at a steadily lower expenditure of energy, materials, working hours and money;
3. Priority for raising the capacity of the railroads as the backbone of the united socialist transportation system;
4. The maintenance of the basic strategic orientation of the further shift from road transport to the railroads and inland shipping as well as from intra-works transport to public road transport; and
5. Further improvements in the service and care sector.

It is the cardinal concern of the 1987 plan to enforce comprehensive intensification, mainly by the extensive use of science and technology and safeguard thoroughgoing renewal and modernization. The material-technical base of the railroad, in particular, is to be strengthened in 1987 and subsequent years.

[Question] The predominance of rail traffic is certainly undeniable. In addition to the traditional mass merchandise to be carried across long distances, the railways' role in mixed cargo traffic. Business now makes greater demands with regard to goods shipped. How does the railroad satisfy them?

[Answer] In connection with the shift of freight from the road to rail, the GDR transportation system devotes great attention to mixed cargo traffic that, as you know, is handled jointly by the railroad and road traffic. Mixed cargo carriage represents an important aspect of the transportation system, relative to both consumer goods and to many sectors of the national economy within the cooperation relations of the branches of industry. By comparison with 1980, the 1986 rise in performance in mixed cargo transportation amounted to roughly 16 percent.

In recent years we carried out diverse measures to improve the qualitative standards of mixed cargo transportation. We were specially concerned to cut the time needed for transportation and to reduce damage incurred in the course of transportation.

Joint efforts by the railroad and road traffic managed to increase direct mixed cargo transports (local cars) to 58 percent of the total outgoing of mixed cargo cars. At the same time we have succeeded in reducing irregularities and, consequently, the incidence of damage by 6.2 percent compared with the previous year.

The rise to 49.3 percent in the extent of mechanization and to 40.9 percent in that of palletization, in other words the improved availability of small containers and pallets, is largely responsible for these successes.

We are resolutely pursuing the further implementation of the measures conceived in this field. We are hoping thereby to be able to realize to the satisfaction of our customers the performance offer in mixed cargo transportation in the amount of 2,900 kilotons. At the same time our customers should help the railroad-road transport cooperation in its efforts to improve the quality of transportation. Greater attention is due in particular to appropriate packaging for mixed cargo transports as well as the establishment of load units. It is also imperative to guarantee the delivery and acceptance of mixed cargo at weekends also.

[Question] In recent months CEMA adopted far reaching resolutions regarding future economic and scientific-technological cooperation. What are the consequences arising therefrom for the international work of our country's transportation system?

[Answer] The consequences of these resolutions are very important for our work.

The 42nd CEMA Council Meeting and the working meeting of the general secretaries of our fraternal parties dealt very thoroughly with the main

problems of the development and perfection of cooperation among the socialist countries and the opportunities for a more complete evolution of the creative potential of socialism.

Special attention was devoted to the continuing deepening of relations in the field of economics, the utilization of new and more advanced forms of economic and scientific-technological cooperation in the interest of the dynamic socioeconomic development of the fraternal countries and the improvement of their peoples' standard of living.

This gives rise to important tasks with regard to the further development and organization of transportation relations among our countries through the year 2000. These issues were therefore at the center of discussions at the Seventy-sixth Conference of the CEMA Permanent Commission for Cooperation in the Field of Transportation (SKT/CEMA), held in Warsaw in early December last.

In the next 2 years we will draw up the basic documents for the reconstruction and modernization of international traffic main routes and the strengthening of the material-technical base of the various carriers within the framework of SKT to become effective in 1991-2000.

Just as the expansion of direct relations among the socialist countries, our deepening research and production cooperation occurring in the course of the realization of the comprehensive CEMA program for scientific-technological progress through 2000 will result in greater challenges to the quality of transports and changes in the structure of the types of freight carried.

The accomplishment of all these tasks needs to be secured by the above mentioned basic documents.

We consider that it will be necessary even more effectively to utilize the tried and tested methods of direct bilateral cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist fraternal countries.

In the period through 1990 we will therefore jointly labor to deal with more than 100 research topics on key targets of the plans science and technology. Thirty-six GDR transportation enterprises are bilaterally working with their partners on tasks involving research and production cooperation.

We will decisively strengthen cooperation in the field of the construction of rationalization aids, replacement part production and the use of microcomputers.

As you see, our cooperation also is largely directed to the joint use of key technologies.

[Question] Comrade minister, commuter, student and tourist traffic has a strong sociopolitical element. Here also the services of the railroad are at the center of increasing social interest. What is being done to meet the expectations of the customers?

[Answer] In accordance with the 11th SED Party Congress resolutions, we must further raise the quality of our services, guarantee punctual and reliable commuter, student and tourist traffic, cut travel times and improve the information and handling of travelers.

The key points in suburban travel are the demand appropriate organization of timetables for commuter and student travel, including reliable connections and transfers at junctions, and the provision of transport facilities in new residential and industrial locations as well as recreational areas. Priority will be assigned to electric rail vehicles.

We are also vitally concerned to gradually reduce the periodically recurring traffic peaks.

As for long distance travel, it is imperative to close existing gaps, for example by the perfection of the intercity express network, and to ensure the facilities for long distance commuter traffic.

Tourist travel by rail needs to be further encouraged and the quality of baggage and express freight handling improved.

The methods for dealing with travelers will be improved by the use of modern dispatch equipment, the extension of self-service by the provision of automatic ticket machines as well as the further development and expansion of simplified dispatch procedures.

In the field of the information of and services for travelers we intend, among others, to introduce modern information systems, resolutely use qualified information personnel (hostesses) at major tourist junctions, further improve travel facilities for the handicapped and raise the quality of services and supplies by MITROPA.

[Question] Our overall social development is characterized by the increasing interaction between production and intra-enterprise transportation, handling and storage processes and public transportation processes. What are the consequences arising therefrom for the work of the transportation system?

[Answer] As I see it, the workers of the transportation system will have to accomplish two main tasks, closely related to one another. As you know, we are compelled by 1990 to lower specific transportation costs by 3-3.5 percent per annum. That applies to intra-enterprise transportation, handling and storage just as much as to public freight traffic. The use of increasingly efficient methods of transport optimization and the gradual introduction of computer assisted production-transportation chains are therefore on our immediate agenda.

As regards the two tasks of the transportation system, the transportation system itself must first of all guarantee the best possible quality of execution and offer services appropriate to the demand.

It is indispensable for the reliability and the achievement of the economic objectives of the production-transportation chains to be established that we

make sure of stable and smooth running transport relations, that transport space is made available at the right time and in the right volume, and that scheduled times are kept to and the best possible quality of transportation is guaranteed.

Secondly, due to the diversity of the tasks to be accomplished with regard to comprehensive production-transport rationalization, the workers of the public transportation system carry a particularly great responsibility. That applies not only to public freight traffic but also to the conformability of the total system, in particular the work at the junctions between public freight traffic and intra-enterprise transportation, handling and storage processes. The Central Research Institute of Transportation has been assigned the management function for new technologies and techniques of freight transport rationalization. This must decisively contribute to the accomplishment of all tasks involved in comprehensive production-transport rationalization.

Both these tasks need to be helped along by a greater contribution of transport science. It is equally imperative even more closely and effectively cooperate with local state organs as well as the combines and enterprises in the regions.

[Question] Comrade minister, you mentioned firstly the contribution of transportation science and secondly the necessity of even more effective work in the regions. Could you please explain this in greater detail?

[Answer] Willingly. In this context I also take into account the results of the joint discussion between the SED Central Committee and the GDR Council of Ministers on the one hand and the chairmen of kreis councils, the chief mayors of our cities and the city district mayors on 23 and 24 October 1986. The wide-ranging exchange of experiences during this meeting produced many exemplary experiences worth generalizing and, at the same time, illustrated new challenges to the work of the central and local state organs as well as to the combines, enterprises and facilities in the regions.

The measures for the improvement of the technical organs for transportation responded appropriately to the Law on the Local People's representations of 4 July 1985 as it relates to the sphere of locally managed transportation. We will now need to perfect these measures further with regard to even more effective cooperation with the enterprises and branch offices of centrally managed transportation.

Magdeburg Bezirk has developed exemplary initiatives for raising its contribution to the fulfillment of the transportation plan. The first secretary of the SED bezirk management organ reported to that effect at the Third Central Committee Plenum.

The Ministry for Transportation also initiated measures for the improvement of our work in the regions.

Preparations were made, for example, to tighten regional planning for the railroad by exact regulations on the planning and reporting of selected indices by districts and kreises, by working out a regional plan document for

the agents of the presidents of the GDR Railroad directorates in the political district, and also for the smooth observance of planning and balancing tasks by these directorates. The first step toward the better adjustment of the railroads' regional structure consisted in reviewing how to establish better conformity between the borders of the railway districts with kreis borders. All this serves the goal of securing stable and efficient working relations in the regions. We must therefore accurately settle duties, rights and powers as well as properly establish the order of instruction and supervision. Finally, the experiences gained in the joint meeting have taught us that increasing importance needs to be assigned to comprehensive performance comparisons between the regions.

[Question] The transportation system has respectable scientific-technological capacities at its disposal. Does the effect of their work always meet the challenges of the dynamism of our social development?

[Answer] You are well aware that steadily greater demands are made on the economic and social efficacy of science and technology. The criteria for their effectiveness are therefore highly dynamic also.

Keeping this in mind, our scientific-technological capacities are employed with ever greater efficacy.

The extent of the efficacy of scientific-technological work is decided by the concentration of the available scientific capacities on the crucial renewal processes in the reproduction process of the transportation system, the standard of results from research and development work and the rapidity of the availability of top performances in everyday transportation practice. It is also largely decided by creative scientists, the shortest possible delays in research work and the quick and broadly effective transfer of the results to productive utilization.

Our current standard of results is characterized by the fact that we are achieving top performances throughout with regard to the tasks of the state plan science and technology.

Unfortunately, the results of scientific work outside the state plan is not satisfactory. An early change is needed here by means of energetic cooperation between the combines and enterprises of the transportation system on the one hand and scientific facilities on the other.

Here we must emphasize the concentration of scientific-technological efforts on the general employment of key technologies. How may we quickly realize that?

It will be necessary in close cooperation with our colleges, in particular the "Friedrich List" (Dresden) College for Transportation, to increasingly train top cadres for our research and development. By more purposefully using young researcher collectives, we will have to more than hitherto involve our young scientists in the accomplishment of challenging tasks.

The even closer coupling of science and production is on the agenda.

To this end we must employ scientists at GDR universities, in particular the College for Transportation, and the GDR Academy of Sciences on the solution of practical research problems.

I have concluded the necessary agreements to that effect with the president of the GDR Academy of Sciences and the rector of the College for Transportation.

These measures can be realized only by simultaneously insisting on a higher standard in the management and planning of science and technologies in the combines and enterprises of the transportation system.

[Question] Allow us one additional question, please. Assuming correct topics are set, does subsequent practical application decide the efficiency of scientific work? Or, phrased differently, pilot projects actually do not change operational practices; they are merely signposts pointing out the directions of desirable change in operations. What do you consider the key points for the management and planning of these processes?

[Answer] Your question addressed one of the crucial key problems involved in dealing with scientific-technological advances: The broadly effective use of scientific-technological results, that represents the main source of the economy.

An efficient management tool for this purpose has been created by the Council of Ministers' resolution on the introduction of the renewal pass as of 1 January 1987.

It is imperative for the general directors of combines or other competent state managers even more than hitherto on the basis of this renewal pass to comprehensively and responsibly focus on the scientific-technological process in the course of all their management operations. This means that, on the basis of the requirements of the reproduction process, they need to orient development orders, scientific-technological work itself, the planning, initial introduction and broad use of scientific-technological results to the greatest economic effect and secure their achievement. At the same time the managers with overall responsibility for the reproduction process must involve the technical directors for the definition and setting of tasks and economic objectives ranging to the transfer and widespread application of the results.

It follows that we must get rid of still persisting compartmentalization.

To secure the prompt and comprehensive utilization of scientific-technological results in practical operation (including keeping track of the results realized), the necessary decisions for the economic utilization of results within the reproduction process must be made no later than the final defense.

[Question] The transportation combines and their enterprises carry a great responsibility for the improvement of motor vehicle repair services for private motor vehicles. Moreover you, comrade minister, are in charge of a central staff regularly concerned with the implementation of the respective resolutions. What are the results, and what may the public expect in 1987?

[Answer] The development of services is a firm element of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy.

The resolutions on the improved supply of auto maintenance services to the public have brought about in many initiatives and many exemplary results with regard to, among others, the extension of hours of opening, the widespread introduction of instant repairs, the implementation of warranty inspections and repairs at the proper times.

The transportation combines and their motor vehicle maintenance enterprises have contributed a great deal. They carry out more than 30 percent of such services to the public.

Moreover, in their capacity as principal enterprises of the district "motor vehicle maintenance" product groups, they carry the major responsibility for cooperation, specially in the organization of exchanges of experience and performance comparisons with the 241 PGH's (artisan producer cooperatives) and almost 6,000 private motor vehicle mechanics. By comparison with 1985, motor vehicle repair services were increased to about 112 percent in 1986.

Still, we have not yet succeeded--especially in Berlin and other conurbations--to guarantee the stable satisfaction of the public demand for motor vehicle repairs. Bodywork and car painting remain the key deficiencies.

Due to the considerable rise in automobile ownership (in 1986 stocks rose to almost 3.5 million vehicles), we also recorded an increased demand for replacement parts and car repairs. The damage caused by traffic accidents (involving more than 36,000 cars in 1985) represents another considerable burden on repair capacities and the stock of replacements. Consequently private individuals hardly notice the improvement of services resulting from the increase in performance.

The 1987 economic plan provides for an increase in performance with regard to all services and repairs for the public to 104.9 percent, to auto maintenance and repair services to as much as 110.2 percent. Development in this sector is given priority. Car repair services to the public will therefore be further improved and the repair of buses and trucks guaranteed as planned. This will require further initiatives such as the competition appeal by the Guestrów "Karl Marx" Motor Vehicle Repair Works VEB of the Schwerin Transportation Combine VE.

[Question] Referring to the topic of key technologies: What is the present status, and what are the targets for 1987, mainly in consideration of the fact that software is steadily crystallizing as the central problem?

[Answer] As for the present status, let me cite some figures: At the end of 1986, the GDR transportation system was employing 450 onboard computers in traction vehicles, 3,500 taximeters, 450 diagnostic devices, 1,200 ticket machines for the GDR Railroad, 290 electronically controlled street signals, 500 office computers and 800 personal computers.

Another 3,800 electronic devices will be added in 1987. This development is proceeding on the basis of the "program for the process automation" of the transportation system.

As we aimed to quickly achieve the best possible results, we assigned priority to such objectives as will enable us quickly and at a relatively low cost of preparation to achieve the most widespread possible application.

That includes, among others, the use of CAM equipment in the distribution of traction vehicles and traction vehicle personnel, the handling and prenotification of freight cars in switching yards, the use of CAD equipment for the enterprise planning of operational railroad management, the introduction of CAD/CAM equipment in railroad maintenance and repair works as well as the allocation and accounting of commercial vehicle use and the rationalization of process organization for car repairs. About 85 percent of available computers are to be used for this task in 1987-1989. To secure the preparatory work involved, extensive training and further education measures are being carried out. These increasingly enable the enterprise collectives to themselves tackle the necessary software work with the help of the facilities of the College for Transportation research and the engineering schools of the transportation system.

So far 6,000 of our personnel have been trained and made familiar with the new requirements. Their numbers will rise to 25,000 by 1990.

Organized coordination gives rise to software that may be uniformly used in all specialized facilities of the transportation system. This makes for up to 300 subsequent applications involving the operation of the computers round the clock, consonant with the shift operation of the transportation system.

The Robotron Combine made this possible by supplying user friendly and easily handled software tools. Of course not all problems have yet been settled. Extensive programming is still required for other tasks. The capacities now available are not adequate to doing this. We have therefore chosen two approaches:

--Programming as such is to be rationalized by the use of computer backed programming.

This will allow a 30 percent rise in the productivity of programming.

--We will employ more personnel with extensive knowledge of programming. It will be necessary in particular to further train young graduates of colleges and technical schools. We are resolutely expanding the proper prerequisites.

[Question] The use of computer-backed procedures and information processes is apt to substantially improve labor productivity. We also need to find other possibilities. What, in particular, should managers concentrate on with regard to the more rational use of the social labor capacity?

[Answer] Man will always be our main productive force. The ability to improve labor efficiency, rationally employ the labor capacity and everywhere

safeguard order, safety and discipline are decisive in the transportation system also for the efficiency of enterprises, branch offices and facilities.

The utilization of nominal working hours has held relatively steady at about 80 percent since 1980. Currently 9.5 percent are used for vacations, and 10.5 percent of nominal working hours are unused as the result of downtime.

This implies considerable performance reserves that may be used to improve labor productivity. Loss of time by sickness is important here. We were able to reduce these losses by 9.2 percent in 1980-1984. The medical services of the transportation system were very active in this context, and so were the other health care facilities looking after our workers. Unfortunately this favorable trend did not continue in 1985/1986.

I therefore consider it particularly important even more intensively to analyze the causes of sicknesses and on this basis:

- To more effectively carry on preventive medical care, including mass screening, repeat examinations and rescreening;
 - More insistently use health education;
 - Eliminate the causes of accidents and consistently punish violations of safety regulations;
 - Ensure the wearing of bad weather work clothes;
 - More extensively apply vaccination against influenza;
- and implement other specific enterprise measures.

Many work collectives are developing their own initiatives for avoiding downtime.

I am thinking here of maintenance and repair work during the shift, in particular, but also of the absenteeism still occurring. We need to strengthen our educational influence on the work collectives.

I am sure that the joint efforts of the workers in the transportation system will help our further progress in the reduction of downtimes as an important reserve for the improvement of labor productivity.

[Question] One last question: Berlin, the GDR capital, is preparing for its 750th anniversary. What do the workers of the transportation system intend to do on the occasion of this anniversary, and what may the residents of the capital expect from the transportation system?

[Answer] The anniversary is being prepared as an outstanding political event of national and international significance and celebrated as a peak in the social life of the GDR.

This also involves a challenge to the transportation system by diverse initiatives to contribute to the appropriate preparation and, therefore, the ongoing attractive organization of Berlin life.

We must create important transportation capacities for the benefit of the public in 1987 and continue with construction projects. These include, among others:

--Continuing construction and equipment regarding the key project of the transportation system in the capital--the extension of subway route E from the zoo to the Berlin-Hellersdorf district, terminating in Hohenow,

--Taking into operation the two-track extension of the intra-urban electric railroad on the section Altglienicke--Grunauer Cross,

--The completion of the first section of the construction of the new main line station including its connection to the electrified network,

--Taking into service the new Tatra streetcar section from Falkenberger Street and, consequently, the creation of another connection of the Hohenschoenhaus city district to the streetcar network,

--Handing over to traffic the 4-lane extension of the P1/5 motorway to the city limit;

--Continuing the bridge construction project at Lenin Avenue, and

--Continuing the reconstruction program for intra-urban electric railroad and subway stations.

I am sure that the workers of the capital's transportation system will employ all their experience and initiative so as to accomplish the transport tasks set them as well as possible, appropriate to the demand and at the right time. These tasks include disciplined information on traffic flow, cleanliness and order in the vehicles and traffic facilities as well as polite behavior toward travelers and guests in our capital from home or abroad.

11698

CSO: 2300/179

MINISTRY OFFICIAL DESCRIBES EXPORT INCENTIVES

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (REFORMA GOSPODARCZA supplement No 95 p 1) in Polish 29 Jan 87

[Article by Janusz Kaczurba, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Trade]

[Text] We began 1987 with more incentives to stimulate interest in export. When they were being developed the basic assumption was that the future of our economy will be determined by its ability to export more.

When we speak of proexport orientation we are referring to a special kind of economic policy. It must cohesively and consistently integrate domestic and foreign operations so as to gain the right advantages through participation in international economic relations--advantages in the form of revenues and the potential to export more, as well in the form of results which will expand the range and improve the structure of domestic production, its effectiveness and the level of its quality and technology. Proexport policy, therefore, cannot be reduced to an artificially isolated sector, such as is the foreign trade sector. It must be present in all areas of management.

It is a generally known fact that the Polish economy has an exceptionally low--relative to the overall economic potential--degree of integration with the foreign market. During the last several years we dropped from 16th place to 40th place in the world in total foreign trade turnovers. Our free foreign-exchange export, which amounts to approximately \$170 per capita, is now five-fold less than our free foreign-exchange debt, calculated in the same way.

Export's share in total industrial production is a little over 13 percent, and by 1990 will be a little less than 15 percent. At present approximately two-thirds of all of our export comes from scarcely 400 enterprises in the mining and processing industries. This is only 6 percent of the total number of production organizations in Poland. Approximately half of the import of industrial processed goods shipped to free foreign-exchange markets comes from 40 enterprises.

Many more such facts could be cited. All of them clearly point to the growing distance which divides us from those countries which make better use than we

do of foreign trade as a factor in stimulating economic growth. That is why it is impossible to overestimate the need to treat export as an essential condition for the fulfillment of economic plans in the immediate future. in

From this standpoint, 1986 was quite a good year. It is expected that more complete statistical data will confirm this assessment. The figures will show that we achieved the amount of foreign-exchange turnovers envisaged in the plan and even exceeded some of the planned indicators, especially in the second payments area [capitalist countries]. We should particularly note the high grow rate of free foreign-exchange export of electrical machinery, which amounts to approximately 36 percent in current prices.

Export to the first payments area [socialist countries] is projected in the National Annual Plan for 1987 to be 6.8 percent higher, and 3.6 percent higher to the second payments area, in fixed prices.

These tasks are to be fulfilled while export supplies of domestic raw materials, fuels and other materials are dropping and the potential of the processing industry is lower due to drastic reductions in investment and a widening technological gap in relation to our commercial competitors.

In such very difficult circumstances the economic and organizational importance of instruments for managing production and trade according to the principles of reform is growing objectively. From the standpoint of the need to increase foreign turnovers, the basic criteria of quality of such instruments should be their ability to stimulate economic interest in export and encourage those involved in trade to be concerned about improving its efficiency. The condition for the operation of such institutional instruments, in turn, must be recognition of the principle that the flow of money, personnel and materials within the economy must reflect actual preferences for an efficient producer-exporter. This is confirmed, for example, by the rule embodied in the National Socioeconomic Plan (NSP) that production for export has first priority in investments, aside from investments stemming from implementation of materials and energy conservation programs. This same category of positive signals includes the gradual reduction of the role of decentralized forms of appropriation of hard currency and materials, although the changes taking place in this field must be accelerated because they are slower than would appear from earlier assumptions of long-range economic policy.

Attempts are being made, therefore, to make the successively applied or modified institutional measures concerning foreign trade and its production facilities more consistent with the vision of advanced reform. This means that when these instruments are created, more and more consideration is being given to the necessity of establishing objective rules for economic play. These rules should be stable, understandable, economically reasonable, and be the same or similar for all management organizations. Only such institutional instruments can provide enterprises with the conditions necessary to improve the quality of their decisions, which entail economic and legal responsibilities.

The most important goals which we intend to achieve through this development of the system include the following: A considerable growth in export tendencies; a larger number of active participants in foreign trade, mainly in the area of production but also in service; and further progress in lessening the monopolization of the organizational structures of trade. It is envisaged also that the involvement of enterprises in export activities should increasingly be a factor which determines the general economic situation of the enterprise and its workforce. In other words, the rule will aim to create "compulsion through opportunity."

But such an approach should not be associated only, or even mostly, with an increase in money from direct financial incentives. Naturally, the importance of tax reliefs and sums for all kinds of prizes for export is recognized. Furthermore, a number of other improvements in this area are needed to stimulate greater interest in certain kinds of export services, for example. Also vitally important is the proper management of this money at the factory level, so that the benefits thus obtained go to those who directly and best contributed to creating them through personal commitment in the export effort. But already now, all reliefs due to export which affect the enterprise's financial statement constitute close to half of the total sum of reliefs granted in the national economy. Going too far in this direction risks the creation of artificial, isolated conditions for export production.

In order to expand and improve the instruments shaping economic operations in accordance with the assumptions of the second stage of reform, the government in the last few months made a number of important decisions on foreign trade which are contained in legal documents.

The text of Provision No 54/86 of the government presidium on establishing special conditions to increase foreign-trade turnovers is an accurate expression of the direction taken. It acknowledges the need to further decentralize foreign-exchange financing of import. It confirms the priority given to the flow of supplies for export production and the investments necessary to enlarge it. This legal document also establishes guidelines for an energetic currency-exchange rate policy in order to achieve, in 1987, the improvement in the profitability of export production demanded by producers. It states that as early as the first half of this year, settlement of trade turnovers with the second payments area in official prices (with the exception of certain farm-food commodities) will be discontinued. This decision was already partially applied beginning 1 January. This is extremely important if the structure of costs and prices throughout the entire economy is to be put into order and is absolutely essential to the improvement of cost-effectiveness, permitting a gradual disciplining of those instruments which revise financial results obtained from international trade.

All of these principles of economic policy pertaining to foreign trade are recorded in the basic courses of reform. They are also highlighted in the opinions of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. We expect that the current year will bring considerable progress in their implementation.

Similar expectations are linked with the functioning of new rules in the hard-currency allowances system, despite the hardships stemming from the reduction of allowance rates. Important new measures pertaining to the assets character of these accounts and the creation of the beginnings of a foreign-exchange market between enterprises should help to slowly decentralize the foreign-exchange economy.

A deconcentration of organizational forms of commercial activities in foreign turnovers is taking place. As we know, the number of economic organizations functioning in this area has been greatly increased. Further steps are now being taken to expand the commodity purview of foreign trade organizations in order to more boldly introduce the element of competition and increase the freedom of selection of domestic trading partners by production enterprises. To do this, the government, at the suggestion of the minister of foreign trade, decided to further reduce the list of commodities which are exempt from foreign-trade licensing.

9295

CSO: 2600/340

COLUMNIST VIEWS 1986 ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Jan 87 p 1

[Article by Andrzej Leszczynski: "The State of the Economy as 1987 Begins"]

[Text] Although the Main Statistical Office will not release 1986 socioeconomic figures for another couple of days, we can already make a general assessment on the basis of preliminary estimates and data.

As reflected in statistical indexes, it was not a bad year. Four successive years of growth in sold industrial production, after the collapse in 1981-1982. Preliminary estimates show that 1986 brought a 4.4 percent growth. The indicator envisaged in the National Annual Plan (NAP) was exceeded by 1.4 percent.

Adding to the good results obtained in agriculture during the preceding 4 years, farm production continued to grow in 1986. Compared with the average production in 1982-1985, total farm production (in 1984 fixed prices) last year was 10 percent higher, and in comparison with 1985, 5 percent higher.

Despite these good last year's figures, there was no progress which society could perceive in two basic economic sectors.

Lower Supply and Higher Demand

The fact that sold industrial production grew more in 1986 than in 1985 is doubtless cheering. It negates the statement sometimes made that the Polish economy is dying. But we must also realize that the relationship between the value of goods delivered to supply the market and personal disposable incomes is not very good.

The value of market goods was scarcely 86 percent of the money that people had at their disposal for purchases. Yet in reality the share of expenditures for purchase of goods in disposable personal incomes was 76 percent. No one who is familiar with the situation in the shops and knows how hard it is to buy something attractive, of good quality, and scarce, will be surprised at this.

Although clothing is available in the shops, it is not really what the customers need nor is it to their taste. For example, there is a scarcity of men's and children's cotton underwear, certain kinds of clothes, men's clothing, footwear, and even handkerchiefs. The demand for such items as

freezers, vacuum cleaners, television sets, radios, bicycles, building materials, and certain kinds of furniture, is still unsatisfied. At the same time, stocks of unsalable goods are growing.

In view of this, the fact that tasks contained in the 1986 NAP have not been fulfilled, e.g., in the production of refrigerators, freezers, television receivers, chemical fibers and footwear, does not imbue one with optimism. Nevertheless, the fact that sold production grew last year in all branches of industry is cheering.

Money Flow

All of this shows that market balance has still not been achieved. This is due not only to the shortage of goods, but also to the excess amount of money on the market. And the flow of money for which goods are not available continues.

In accordance with NAP assumptions average wages last year were to grow 13.5 percent. In actuality, they will presumably be more than 21 percent higher in the entire economy. On the other hand, total personal incomes were 20.3 percent higher.

It should be mentioned at this point that last year the average wage in the basic sectors of the economy--it is estimated--was 25,436 zlotys (an increase of 4,307 zlotys). In industry the average wage was 27,517 zlotys, in the mining industry, 49,222 zlotys, and in the processing industry, 24,253 zlotys.

It is understandable, therefore, that the inflationary gap remains (last year it was 150-200 billion zlotys) and personal savings grow.

Effectiveness--Rough Sledding

We are producing, and a great deal, at that. The value of sold production in socialized industry (in 1984 fixed prices) last year exceeded 10 billion zlotys. In 1986 we will probably exceed 1978 production, the last before the critical breakdown in industry (in 1985 we lacked only 0.2 percent, in 1978 prices, to match this).

This is basically optimistic news, but we cannot forget that during these years the population grew by over 2 million. There are more of us but we are producing as much as we did 8 years ago.

Unquestionably, labor productivity is growing. In 1986 productivity per employee rose 4.2 percent, and 4.3 percent for one day's work. But at the same time, the indicator for payment of production growth dropped slightly. In 1985 it was 0.93 percent in current prices, per employee, and last year it was 0.92 percent. If we add to that the fact that last year there was no real change in utilization of work time, then it becomes clear that improvement in effectiveness is proceeding very slowly.

9295

CSO: 2600/340

MEAT SUPPLY PROSPECTS FOR 1987

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 4, 25 Jan 87 p 11

[Text] Last year's crop yields dictate cautious optimism as to anticipated figures on meat production. Because grain and root crops were good, it is expected that procurement of slaughter livestock will exceed the amounts envisaged in the National Annual Plan (NAP) for 1987, and perhaps even those of last year.

In 1986 procurement totaled 2.3 million tons of slaughter livestock, i.e., 13 percent more than in 1985. Twenty-two percent more slaughter hogs were procured, 4 percent more cattle, 70 percent more sheep, and 13 percent more poultry. Only calf and horse figures were disappointing.

Despite this we continue to lag behind our best year, 1979; in 1978 we will still lack approximately 13 percent to reach that level. Hogs and poultry can be blamed for this, because slaughter cattle procurement, we expect, is already at the 1979 level. Anyway, there are voivodships where total procurement exceeds the amounts of this best year: Bydgoszcz, Konin, Koszalin, Lomza, Pilsk, Slupsk, Torun, and Wloclawek. In 18 others procurement is coming close to the 1979 level.

But the point is not just quantity. The slaughter livestock purchased is not of the best quality. One fourth of the hogs are classified II grade, i.e., weighing over 125 kg and overfat. But average cattle weight does not exceed 420 kg.

Another problem which complicates the production of meat is irregularity of procurement, which varies by as much as 50 percent from one day to the next. This means that processing plants must be very flexible. Holding slaughter livestock in procurement centers results in losses, yet immediate startup of a second shift in order to process it is normally not possible, because where do you suddenly get the workers?

In order to solve this problem, industry is trying to make procurement more efficient, e.g., through direct purchase of livestock from private and socialized farms. About 60 percent of the procurement this year will be by this method. Opole Voivodship leads in this respect.

The meat industry is planning many changes for the immediate future. For example, the structure of production will undergo change. The share of cured meats in market deliveries will grow 60 percent. This will make it necessary to import more casings and spices for cured meats, which will cost \$15 million yearly. Anyway, we can produce sausage casings ourselves, but the enlarged factory in Makow Podhalanski will not double its production until 1990. There is a possibility, however, that production of frankfurter casings will begin in Tomaszow Mazowiecki. In 1987 it would amount to 60 million running meters, and in 1988, 120 million, which would allow us to reduce imports by one-third (of all casings, those for frankfurters are the most expensive).

Also planned is a return to packaged and portioned products. They would cost 10 to 20 percent more than the others. Larger deliveries of pork and canned meats are also planned, at the expense of beef with the bones in.

As envisaged in the NAP, we will export 170,000 tons of meat and slaughter livestock this year, less than 10 percent of market deliveries. Of this, 70,000 will be shipped abroad in processed form (hams, canned meats, cured meats, bacon and meat), and the rest as slaughter beef, sheep, poultry (especially geese and ducks), and horses. All of this will be sold for cash in the second payments area [capitalist countries], including 15,000 tons of beef in Brazil. Unfortunately, a few meat plants were recently deleted by CEMA inspectors from the list of exporters due to bad production conditions, including plants in Poznan, Kielce and Lublin.

Procurement is growing and there is nowhere to process the meat. Many plants require immediate modernization and expansion. We must complete construction (which has been going on for years) in Starachowice, Tarnowskie Gory and Bydgoszcz, and build new facilities in Piotrkow and Lomza.

Meanwhile, the financial status of the meat industry is not good. It is importantly affected by budget subsidies which supplement the industry's income, because meat and meat-product prices are lower than the cost of production. Income from sales does not cover expenditures for the slaughter livestock purchased and its processing, which includes depreciation of equipment, energy, transport, repairs and wages. The profit planned for 1987 is 4.6 percent in relation to prime costs and is one of the lowest in the food industry. Because of this, industry requirements, i.e., the establishment of a fund for the workforce and for development, rebuilding of wornout means of production and transport, are subsidized to a limited degree. Production assets have been 70 percent depreciated.

Nevertheless, modernization of plants, particularly those producing for export, has been begun. The program for the development of the food economy provides 90 billion zlotys for this purpose during the present 5-year plan, which is not enough.

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CSO: 2600/340

BRIEFS

BYDGOSZCZ COMPUTER STORE--After a lot of effort the Central Scout Depot (CSD) opened a microcomputer store in Bydgoszcz. The new shop is in the mall at 66 Chodkiewicz St., in a building formerly occupied by Moda Polska. Products from two well-known computer firms, Timex and Spectravideo, are sold here. In addition to computers, there is also the peripheral equipment such as recorders, disk drives, printers, joysticks, plotters, diskettes and tapes with programs for Timex games. The equipment is new and carries a warrantee and a service guarantee. Spectravideo is serviced in Lublin and Polbrit in Warsaw services Timex. The Bydgoszcz branch of CSD sells not only in Bydgoszcz, but also in the Torun, Wloclawek, Elblag, and Gdansk voivodships. Therefore, computers from the Bydgoszcz store will also be sold on those markets. The main buyer will be the schools, who will be buying through CEZAS. Nevertheless, as Stefan Bielawski, director of CSDreports, some computers will be sold to individuals. Yesterday, 7 Timex computers were allocated for private buyers (at a price of 106,000 zlotys) and 5 Spectravideo (440,000 zlotys). Included also is some peripheral equipment. The store on Chodkiewicz St. will probably get another delivery this month yet. But next year there will be many more computers available. CSD will receive (for the entire country) 15,000 Timex's and 5,000 Spectravideo's, and a considerable number of them will reach Bydgoszcz. [Excerpt] [Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 16 Dec 86 p 6] 9295

RADOM EXPORTS TO USSR--A Club for Economic Cooperation with the USSR was organized recently in Radom, the 31st in the country. Its primary role is to increase the amount of export from Poland to the Soviet Union. The industrial plants in Radom Voivodship have been maintaining close contacts with Soviet enterprises for many years. Soviet MW turbines, installed in the Kozieniec power plant, are operating beautifully, and the hot-houses built through the efforts of both countries on 12 hectares in Ryczywola are also passing the test. The largest exporter is the Radom Telephone Plant, which shipped a million telephone sets to Soviet customers last year. Another million--this time pairs of shoes, mainly ladies', were exported last year from RADOSKOR, as well as 120,000 gas ranges with ovens from the Radom Metal Products Factory POLMETAL. The export of fresh fruits, particularly apples from the "orchard valley" (largest in Europe) in the region of Grojec and Warka, broke all records last year when it totaled 70,000 tons. The zlotys value of the export from Radom Voivodship to the USSR last year was well over 7 billion. [Text] [Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 7 Jan 87 p 3] 9295

CSO: 2600/360

U.S. MILITARY CREATION OF AIDS VIRUS ALLEGED

AU061958 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 2 Mar 87 p 4

[N. Roshi article: "The Pentagon's Bacteriological Centers"]

[Text] There are at least 100 centers in the United States carrying out intensive research on bacteriological weapons. With these projects "of a defensive nature" the Pentagon is seeking to add to its stocks of bacteriological weapons, alongside its stocks of nuclear, chemical, and sophisticated conventional weapons.

In 1972 the United Nations sought the prohibition of the production of bacteriological weapons in a resolution, to which the American and Soviet delegations voted in favor of. But history has long shown that the imperialist throw agreements and resolutions bearing their signatures into the waste paper basket when their hegemonist ambitions require it. The fact is that the Pentagon laboratories are working at full capacity, and that stocks of bacteriological weapons have risen by 500 percent in the past five years. All this is justified by the need to respond to Soviet attempts "to create a superweapon in this field." For their part, the Soviets accuse the Americans. Meanwhile the ominous race goes on. Nuclear explosions go on. The production of chemical and bacteriological weapons goes on. The expenses are shouldered by millions of people in the United States and throughout the world.

When the House of Representatives admitted that fatal experiments had been carried out in Pentagon laboratories for 30 years on more than 700 people, prisoners, the elderly, and the sick, the American press expressed the opinion that these things now belong to the past. But it is not long ago information emerged that the fatal disease AIDS is caused by a virus developed by the laboratories of the American military center at Fort Detrick in Maryland. Now, according to official data, 1.5 million Americans are carriers of the AIDS virus. Of some 30,000 affected in the United States in the past five years, half have died.

What else are the death-laboratories of the American and Soviet command preparing for the world? It is more than ever necessary now for the peoples to rise up more strongly, to expose, put a stop to, and arrest the headlong warmongering gallop of the enemies of mankind--American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, and other dark forces which are leading mankind toward war.

ALIA, LEADERS ATTEND KORCE SCHOOL CENTENARY

AU071647 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 7 Mar 87

["Solemn Meeting on Occasion of the Centenary of the First Albanian School of Korce—Comrade Ramiz Alia and Other Party and State Leaders Attend"—ATA Headline]

[Excerpt] Tirana, 7 March (ATA)—Friends from all over the country have gone to the city of Korce, the city where 100 years ago the first Albanian school was opened. They are veterans and working people of education and other guests who have come to celebrate the jubilee of this brilliant event in the century-long history of our people.

Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the party and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and Comrade Adil Carcani, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Comrade Foto Cami, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC of the party; Comrade Manush Myftiu, member of the Political Bureau of the party and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers; Comrade Rita Marko, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, member of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, and other comrades came to the city of Korce yesterday afternoon.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other party and state leaders were received with great love and enthusiasm.

Present to welcome them were the minister of education, Dr. Skender Gjinushi; the first secretary of Korce District party committee Mihallaq Qirjako; the chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, Fatbardh Harizi.

/12913

CSO: 2020/71

SCHOOL CENTENARY CELEBRATED IN KORCE 7 MARCH**AV081607 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 8 Mar 87**

[Text] Tirana, 8 March (ATA)—Yesterday before noon, Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the party and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, who is on an official visit to the city of Korce, went to the General Secondary School "Themistokli Gërmenji," accompanied by Comrade Manush Myftiu, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the party and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers; the minister of education, Dr. Skender Gjinushi, and other comrades. Comrade Ramiz Alia, together with the comrades accompanying him, visited the school cabinets [staff rooms] where they got acquainted with the work done to master knowledge. Comrade Ramiz Alia left, seen off with love by the teachers and pupils of this school.

On this occasion, the member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Carcani, the member of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha and other comrades paid visits to the General Secondary School "Raqi Qirinxhi." Visits were made to the 8-Form School "The First Albanian School" by the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC of the party, Comrade Foto Cami; the member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the party and vice president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Rita Marko, etc.

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia and Comrades Adil Carcani, Foto Cami, Manush Myftiu, Rita Marko and others visited the Museum of National Education.

At the lunch given on this occasion, Comrade Ramiz Alia greeted those present. His speech was listened to attentively and was applauded with enthusiasm.

On occasion of the centenary of the first Albanian school, a festive concert was given at the Palace of Sports "24 Nëntori" by the school pupils and students in the afternoon.

those present received with enthusiasm Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other party and state leaders.

The artists through their songs and dances greeted the jubilee of the centenary of the first Albanian school in Korce, the patriots and our freedom-loving people who are fond of education.

/12913

CSO: 2020/71

BRIEFS

GOVERNMENT TRADE DELEGATION—Tirana, 27 February (ATA)—A Government trade delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, led by the minister for foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, left for the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on 25 February. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 27 Feb 87 AU] /12913

CAMI, LEADERS ATTEND CONFERENCE—Tirana, 4 March (ATA)—On occasion of the centenary of the first Albanian school in Korce, the Institute of Pedagogical Studies organised in the hall of the Higher Institute of Arts in the capital on 3 March, the scientific conference devoted to the revolutionary and democratic traditions of the Albanian school and the elevation of the level and quality of the didactic-educational work of our revolutionized school in the light of the orientations that Comrade Ramiz Alia set forth at the 9th Congress of the party. Present were also the members of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Foto Cami; the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Manush Myftiu; the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and first secretary of the District Party Committee, Comrade Pirro Kondi; members of the Central Committee of the party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and Government. [Excerpt] [Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 4 Mar 87 AU] /12913

CSO: 2020/71

BLACK SEA TERRITORIAL WATERS EXTENDED 200 MILES

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 9 Jan 87 p 1

[State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic]

[Text] The State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic on the basis of Article 94, Section 2, paragraph 2 of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, issue the following

Regulation No 77

for the establishment of exclusive economic zone of the Black Sea for the Bulgarian People's Republic

Article 1. An exclusive economic zone outside and adjacent to the borders of the territorial waters of the Bulgarian People's Republic is established measuring 200 nautical miles from the starting line from which the width of the territorial waters is measured.

Article 2. In this exclusive economic area the Bulgarian People's Republic has:

1. sovereign rights for exploration, development, utilization, conservation, and management of animate and inanimate natural resources found on the sea floor, beneath the sea floor, or in the overlying waters, as well as other types of management activities related to exploration and utilization of the area and its energy resources;
2. the rights and jurisdictions to:
 - a) develop and utilize artificial islands, installations, and equipment;
 - b) conduct marine science experiments;
 - c) conserve the marine environment;
3. other rights according to international agreements and other norms of international law.

Article 3. The external borders of the exclusive economic zone are determined by mutual agreements with adjacent and opposite neighboring countries according to international law with the aim to reach a fair decision.

Article 4. The legal aspects of administering the exclusive economic zone are regulated by law.

Concluding Regulation

Paragraph 1 (of 1) The Council of Ministers is responsible for the implementation of this regulation.

Issued in Sofia on 7 January 1987 affixed with the state seal.

Chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic:

T. Zhivkov

Secretary of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic:

N. Manolov

13211/9190

CSO: 2200/46

VISA AGREEMENT WITH ZAMBIA SIGNED

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Belgian 9 Jan 87 pp 2, 3

[Ministries and Other Departments--Ministry of Foreign Affairs]

[Text] Visa Agreement

between the government of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the government of the Republic of Zambia for the establishment of facilitated visa processing (approved by the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic with Decision No. 220 of 1 December 1980. Effective 16 December 1986.)

The government of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the government of the Republic of Zambia,

aspiring to simplify visa issuing procedures, to facilitate travel between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Republic of Zambia, and thus help improve further the relationship between both countries.

decided to enter this agreement and for this purpose have appointed their representatives:

Petur Mladenov, Minister of Foreign Affairs for the government of the Bulgarian People's Republic,

Wilson M. Shakuliya [last name transliterated], minister of foreign affairs for the government of the Republic of Zambia,

who after discussing the matter agreed to the following:

1. Each of the countries entering the agreement is to issue visas immediately and without delay to members of the central committees of the leading parties, parliament, and government, as well as to accompanying family members.

Visas will also be issued immediately and without delay to those invited to participate in congresses, symposia, and in cultural and sports activities.

2. Each of the countries entering this agreement will grant multiple exit and entry visas immediately and without delay to members of diplomatic personnel of the other country and their families valid for the entire period of service-related stay.

Individuals working in other agencies of both countries and members of their families are granted multiple exit and entry visas valid for one year. These visas are renewable upon expiration.

Visas for initial entry in the country to assume the post according to Section 2 are issued within 10 working days after receiving the request.

3. Each country will grant diplomatic couriers multiple entry visas valid for one year. These visas are issued within 10 working days after receiving the request and are renewable upon expiration.

4. Those with diplomatic and work passports sent to the receiving country in connection with diplomatic, consular, and other activities, and as delegation members to negotiate agreements are issued entry visas within 10 working days after receiving the request.

5. Visas for those with diplomatic and work passports will be issued free of charge and without delay.

6. Each country issues multiple entry visas to specialists contracted to the other country and members of their families within 10 working days after receiving the request.

Each country grants immediately and without delay residence and work identity cards valid for the term stipulated in the contract to specialists and residence identity cards to members of their families valid for the same periods. These cards are valid for the entire territory of the country except officially prohibited areas.

7. Without the agreement of the sending country, the receiving country may not grant permanent residence permits to contracted specialists and members of their families after the contract expires and may not give such individuals any unilateral work contracts whatsoever.

8. Each of the countries entering this agreement issues entry visas in the shortest possible time to citizens of the other country traveling privately, as well as to individuals traveling on tours organized by tourist organizations.

9. Transit visas are issued the same day the request is received.

10. Citizens of one country who have lost their passport in the territory of the other country are required to report to the appropriate organs of the country in which they are residing and to acquire from their own diplomatic agency a new travel document. The citizens of each country

who have such documents may leave the territory of the other country according to its internal regulations.

11. The citizens of each country issued visas for the other country, have the right to cross the border at every border crossing open to international travel and to travel freely on its territory except in officially announced prohibited areas.

12. Each country retains the right to deny entry or shorten the time of residence in the country of individuals considered undesirable.

13. This agreement is valid indefinitely and becomes effective 30 days after receiving second notice of acceptance by the appropriate authorities of each country.

This agreement terminates 90 days after receiving notice for termination from either of the negotiating countries, however all documents, rights, and privileges granted according to this agreement remain valid for the period of time for which they have been issued.

Written in Varna on 3 September 1980 in two originals in the English language. Both texts are equally authentic.

For the Government of the Bulgarian People's Republic: Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs.

For the Government of Zambia: Wilson M. Shakuliya, minister of foreign affairs.

13211/9190

CSO: 2200/46

EXPORT CONTROL ON CHEMICALS FOR MILITARY PURPOSES APPROVED

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 30 Jan 87 p 2

[Council of Ministers—Act No. 73 of 30 December 1986 for the Export of Chemicals intended for nonmilitary purposes but which can be used for the manufacture of chemical weapons]

[Text] To regulate export of chemicals from the Bulgarian People's Republic intended for nonmilitary purposes but which can be used to manufacture chemical weapons and considering our country's duty according to the Geneva Agreement of 1925 prohibiting wartime use of asphyxiant, poisonous, or other such gases and bacteriological agents.

The Council of Ministers

Enacted

Article 1. (1) The Ministry of Commerce is to control export from the Bulgarian People's Republic of chemicals from the enclosed list intended for nonmilitary purposes but which can be used for the manufacture of chemical weapons (hereinafter referred to as "dual-purpose chemicals").

(2) The list of dual-purpose chemicals may be changed only by the Council of Ministers.

(3) Permission to export dual-purpose chemicals from the specified list is given if the importing country guarantees that the chemicals of this category:

1. will not be used directly or indirectly for the manufacture of chemical weapons;
2. will not be re-exported or transported outside the exporting country's jurisdiction without written agreement by the corresponding Bulgarian exporting organization. In the case of multistep re-exportation, such agreement may be required directly from the Bulgarian organization, as well as from intermediate re-exporters;
3. the guarantees mentioned in the preceding paragraphs are determined exclusively by the appropriate government authorities of the receiving

country each time dual-purpose chemicals are supplied from the Bulgarian People's Republic. Such determination is not necessary when the importer conforms to corresponding obligations of the receiving country's active multilateral and bilateral agreements.

Article 2 (1) Export of dual-purpose chemicals from the Bulgarian People's Republic is carried out after receiving permission from the Ministry of Commerce.

(2) Plans for agreements with foreign contractors regarding guarantees in connection with the export of dual-purpose chemicals are subject to approval by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

(3) Customs officials may allow export of dual-purpose chemicals if the exporting organization has an export permit from the Ministry of Commerce specifying that the guarantees according to Article 1, paragraph 3 have been given.

(4) When the exporting organization does not have an export permit, or the permit is irregular, the export of dual-purpose chemicals is denied by customs officials and all unfavorable consequences and damages secondary to the detention are at the expense of the corresponding Bulgarian organization and the officials responsible for it.

Article 3 (1) If the receiving country does not fulfill the obligations regarding guarantees stipulated in Article 1, paragraph 3, export of dual-purpose chemicals from the Bulgarian People's Republic to this country is discontinued.

(2) The Ministry of Commerce informs the Central Administration of "Customs and Customs Control" of the Ministry of Finance of any decision according to paragraph 1, so that customs officials may discontinue the export of dual-purpose chemicals.

(3) At the same time export is discontinued, the Ministry of Commerce with the cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign affairs of the Bulgarian People's Republic, based on the norms of international law and the international agreements of the Bulgarian People's Republic, takes measures to ensure the fulfillment of the obligations assumed by the receiving country.

4. Decision to resume export is made by the Ministry of Commerce with the approval of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in each specific case after the reasons for violation have been explained and removed. The Central Administration of "Customs and Customs Control" of the Ministry of Finance is informed of the decision to resume any previously discontinued export.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers: Georgi Atanasov

First Secretary of the Council of Ministers: Ivan Shpatov

Addendum to Article 1, paragraph 1

List of Dual-Purpose Chemicals

1. Cyanogen chloride [Chlorine cyanide]
2. Carbonic acid dichloroanhydride (Phosgene)
3. Hydrogen cyanide (a strong acid)
4. Phosphorus oxychloride
5. Phosphorus trichloride
6. Nitrotrichloromethane (Chloropicrin)
7. Dithioglycol [1,2-Ethanedithiol]
8. Dimethylaminotrichloral hydrate
9. 2-Chloroethanol [Ethylene chlorohydrin]
10. Compounds with Methyl-Phosphorus bond

13211/9190

CSO: 2200/46

CHNOUPEK HOLDS TALKS WITH PRC'S WU XUEQIAN

AU121136 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Mar 87 pp 1, 6

[CTK report: "On the Stay of an Important Chinese Representative in the CSSR; Positive Trend in Strengthening Relations"]

[Text] Talks between Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, and Wu Xueqian, member of the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee, member of the PRC State Council, and PRC minister of foreign affairs, were held at the Cernin Palace in Prague on Saturday [7 March]. The two representatives informed one another about the successes of socialist construction in their two countries, about the fulfillment of the strategic line of the congresses of the two communist parties in the acceleration of socioeconomic development, and assessed topical issues of Czechoslovak-Chinese relations. They also assessed the current international situation, and exchanged views on global international political problems.

The talks, conducted in a comradely, friendly, and constructive atmosphere, linked on the results of the CSSR minister of foreign affairs' visit to China last December. In this context, the two ministers concentrated on the concretization of adopted obligations and agreements in the interest of further intensifying Czechoslovak-Chinese cooperation. They noted that the 3-months period since their latest meeting has been one of concrete fulfillment of the common endeavor in the interest of the development of the two states and of nuclear weapons, strengthening the positions of socialism in the world, and enhancing its attractiveness to all mankind. In this connection, the two sides valued the exceptional importance of the January session of the CPSU Central Committee, which is resolving a package of issues common for socialist construction in all socialist countries.

Minister Chnoupek informed his counterpart about the fulfillment of the 17th CPCZ Congress resolutions and the topical issues of the restructuring of the economic mechanism and other spheres of the Czechoslovak society's life. He stressed the importance of the grandiose and historical changes underway in the USSR, which our people, the party and the state leadership fully support.

Speaking about Czechoslovak-Chinese cooperation, he noted that it has been dynamically growing in all spheres of late. The planned visit by CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal to China, and the visit by Zhao Ziyang, acting CPC

Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the PRC State Council, to Czechoslovakia in the first half of the year will, without doubt, provide new impetuses for further deepening cooperation. Bohuslav Chnoupek further valued the high level of preparations of projects of expanded economic cooperation between the two countries. He favored the resumption of contacts between the parliaments and social organizations, and of friendship relations between regions and districts of the CSSR and the PRC. He also stressed the interest in a speeded up conclusion of an intergovernmental aviation agreement.

In the sphere of foreign policy, he paid particular attention to the bold, innovative initiative of the USSR aimed at eliminating intermediate-range missiles in Europe and substantially reducing them in Asia, which paves the way for resolving all fundamental issues connected with the problem of strategic weapons, strengthening the regimen of the observance of the treaty on antimissile defense, reducing armed forces and conventional armament, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction. He drew attention to the need to search for ways of resolving regional problems. In this connection he supported the line of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for national reconciliation, and favored the establishment of a dialogue between the PRC and the SRV on the issue of Kampuchea.

In his speech Wu Xueqian supplied extensive and frank information about the current stage of socialist construction in the PRC. He devoted himself in detail, above all, to the developments in the past 3 months, when important domestic political changes occurred. We explained the significance of the second expanded session of the CPC Central Committee Politburo last January, which assessed the development so far and determined new directions in solving the country's socialist construction. He drew attention to the economic reform in the PRC and the ongoing democratization of internal life while at the same time combatting bourgeois liberalism by political means. He stressed the importance of long-term education and ideological work for achieving desirable changes. He described the acceleration of the socioeconomic development and restructuring of society in the PRC as a political issue.

Wu Xueqian also highly valued the achieved level of Czechoslovak-Chinese relations and expressed the conviction that the talks to be held between high Czechoslovak and Chinese representatives in the months to come will contribute to their intensification.

Wu Xueqian described the international situation as very complex and favored the resolution of all problems by peaceful means. He welcomed the USSR proposal for the elimination of intermediate-range missiles in Europe and their substantial reduction in Asia, and expressed the hope that the USSR and the United States will arrive at an agreement on this issue.

Speaking about the situation in Asia and the Pacific, he condemned Japan's dangerous militarist course, especially in connection with the exceeding of the permitted limits of the military budget in that country. He affirmed the indivisibility of peace and security of Asia and Europe, and noted the positive role played by the USSR initiative for the elimination of the intermediate-range missiles in Europe and the substantial reduction of them in Asia.

CHNOUPEK GIVES DINNER FOR PRC COUNTERPART

AU121216 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Mar 87 p 6

[CTK report on a dinner given by Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, in honor of his PRC counterpart Wu Xueqian in Prague on 7 March]

[Text] Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, gave a gala dinner in honor of Wu Xueqian, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo, member of the PRC State Council, and PRC minister of foreign affairs, at the Cernin Palace in Prague on Saturday [7 March].

The dinner was attended by Zdenek Horeni, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat; Michal Stefanak, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department; Jaromir Obrzina, CSSR deputy premier; Zbynek Zalman, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly; Vladimir Blazek, CSSR minister of transportation; Ladislav Luhovy, CSSR minister of general engineering; and other officials.

The ambassadors of the two countries were also present.

The two ministers delivered speeches during the dinner.

Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, said that in the less than 3 months since his visit to the PRC, Czechoslovak-Chinese cooperation has made significant progress in the political, economic, and scientific-technical sphere, in culture, education, health care, and in other spheres. This was positively reflected in our talks today, he said. We discussed further directions of the development of contacts along the line of social organizations, in the sphere of culture, sport, tourism, and in friendship relations. Our talks fully affirmed the positive trend regarding the strengthening of relations of friendship and cooperation in the interest of our countries and our common most noble objective—building peaceful socialist tomorrow.

If we want to enter the third millenium in peace and free of the nuclear threat, Bohuslav Chnoupek continued, then mankind must already today concentrate on the systematic elimination of the instruments of Apocalypse. In our opinion, the program for a total and universal elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of this century, proclaimed by Mikhail Gorbachev on 15 January 1986, points out the way. The latest proposal for the elimination of intermediate-range missiles in Europe and their substantial reduction in Asia, too, is an example of the

irreversibility and the dynamism of the new way of thinking in international relations, which the Soviet Union so clearly displayed in Reykjavik and with all its initiatives. Our people, our party and state leadership, warmly welcome and support this latest momentous ASSR Peace initiative, the CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs said.

In the following part of his speech he valued the fact that the positions of the CSSR and the PRC on the fundamental issues of the danger of escalating the nuclear arms buildup, and on maintaining peace and security are identical or very close. He noted that the two countries are also more intensively cooperating on international forums, including the United Nations. We particularly value the declaration that the PRC will not be the first to use nuclear weapons, that it is not carrying out nuclear tests and opposes transferring the feverish arms buildup into space, that it favors resolving contentious issues by political means.

Peace is indivisible. Therefore, we are sincerely interested in resolving peaceful relations not only on our continent, but also in Asia and the Pacific, Bohuslav Chnoupek continued. In this connection, he underscored the importance of a comprehensive concept for strengthening peace in Asia and the Pacific, submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok last July, as a counterweight to the realization of the dangerous plans of Japan's militarization. He valued the PRC's efforts to strengthen peace, bring about a universal ban on and the scrapping of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, to substantially reduce conventional weapons, and to establish zones without nuclear weapons in the Pacific, a matter that is attested to by the PRC's signature under the Rarotonga treaty.

In his speech the Chinese guest said: "We continued today to exchange views on further deepening bilateral relations between China and Czechoslovakia and on international issues of common interest. I am fully convinced that these deliberations will yet another impetus for the development of mutual relations between our two countries and of friendship between the people of our two countries.

"As a representative of a youth organization I lived in your country for 1 year—from 1949 to 1950. To this day I have beautiful and unforgettable memories of that stay. At that time, the Czechoslovak comrades—after the victory over the counterrevolutionary coup of bourgeois reactionaries—had just started implementing the planned development of the national economy. With my own eyes I saw how diligently the Czechoslovak people worked to heal the war wounds and rebuild their fatherland; I was able to convince myself personally about the friendly international feelings of the Czechoslovak people toward the Chinese people, which had just liberated themselves then. More than 30 years have elapsed since then. Czechoslovakia—as we see it today—has become a prosperous socialist country. All this has been achieved through the diligent work of Czechoslovak workers, farmers, and members of intelligentsia under the leadership of the CPCZ. We warmly congratulate you on your great successes and wish you success in the future in achieving new and even greater successes.

"In recent years, the people of our country have been working under the CPC leadership in the spirit of four fundamental principles—the socialist road, people's democratic dictatorship, the leading role of the CPC and Marxism-Leninism, and Mao Zedong's ideas. They oppose bourgeois liberalization, are implementing a policy of reforms and opening to the world, perfecting socialist democracy and legality, and systematically advancing on the road of building socialism with characteristic Chinese features.

"The Chinese people—in the past plagued for many years by wars—thus do appreciate the value of peace. In the interest of carrying out socialist modernization we need a permanently stable and peaceful international environment. The international situation is currently very complex and complicated, there exist many alarming factors, the danger of war persists. However, the voice of the people of all countries for peace, disarmament, cooperation, and development is getting stronger, too. The forces of peace are constantly growing and getting mightier. We are convinced—provided the people of the whole world and all peace-loving forces unite for a common struggle—that war can be averted, and the cause of maintaining world peace will have a great perspective.

"On the basis of the abovementioned analysis, our country has been pursuing an independent peace foreign policy in international relations, developing efforts for relaxing tension, disarmament, and international cooperation. We are prepared to establish, maintain, and develop relations of friendship with all countries. We are in favor of all countries abiding in their relations by the five principles of peaceful coexistence, resolving international conflicts by negotiations, and not by force or the threat of force. We are for dialogue and against confrontation. In our view, all countries of the world, be they big or small, strong or weak, have the same right to identify themselves with the noble cause of peace and can contribute their share to it. Therefore, we highly value also the continuing endeavor and the positive contribution of Czechoslovakia in the cause of peace.

"The Chinese people harbor profound friendly feelings for the Czechoslovak people. We fully respect the domestic and foreign policy determined by the CPCZ and the Czechoslovak Government in accordance with their country's specific conditions, and wish to comprehensively develop relations of friendship and cooperation with Czechoslovakia. In recent years, thanks to the joint endeavor of both sides, the relations between our two countries have markedly developed in various spheres.

"My visit is taking place less than 3 months after Comrade Minister Chnoupek's trip to China. This fact alone already attests to the pace of the development and the level of relations between our countries. Of particular pleasure to us is the fact that CSSR premier, Comrade Strougal, will pay an official friendly visit to our country in April, that Comrade Zhao Ziyang, acting CPC Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the State Council, will pay a visit to Czechoslovakia in June this year, and that the highest party and state representatives of our country have already officially invited Comrade Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, to pay a visit to China when it suits him.

"We are profoundly convinced that mutual visits by leading representatives of China and Czechoslovakia at a high level will certainly move the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries to a new stage.

"Even though our countries are immensely distant from one another, they are, nevertheless, striving to build socialism in their conditions and maintain world peace. The development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries benefits the socialist construction in our countries, assists the noble cause of safeguarding world peace, and correspond to the joint aspirations and fundamental interests of the people of the two countries. We are prepared, together with our Czechoslovak comrades, to continue to strive to contribute together to the further development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries in the spirit of the principles of mutual respect, equality, and mutual advantageousness."

The dinner was held in a comradely, cordial atmosphere.

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CSO: 2400/191

CHRISTIAN PEACE OFFICIAL ON MOSCOW FORUM

AU061230 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Feb 87 p 2

[CTK report: "New Views on War and Peace; Secretary General of the Christian Peace Conference on the Peace Gathering in Moscow"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—Doctor Lubomir Mirejovsky, secretary general of the Christian Peace Conference, talked to a CTK correspondent about his impressions of the international forum "For a Nuclear-Free World, For Mankind's Survival" in which he had participated.

"The historical peace gathering in Moscow showed new views on the issues of war and peace and on their philosophical and moral contents," he said. "It also indicated the possibilities of resolving these issues. Participants in the forum also included more than 200 representatives of the six most significant world religions from 56 countries. The deliberations of representatives of Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Judaism, Islam, and Shintoism led to an awareness of the unity and mutual identity of all mankind in the effort to halt feverish armament and to create better conditions for cooperation and understanding among the peoples. In a joint document they reject on principle all nuclear intimidation and all endeavours to achieve military supremacy as an immoral and unjustifiable act; on the other hand, they stress the need to conduct a mutual dialogue, despite all political, cultural, and ideological differences, in the interests of the security of all peoples.

"We welcomed the highly humane and moral thoughts voiced in the statement of the top Soviet representative, Mikhail Gorbachev. The implementation of these thoughts currently shows the road toward eliminating nuclear arms, deepening mutual respect, establishing new relations of trust among peoples, and jointly solving mankind's weightiest problems for the benefit of a happier life. We fully support these principles, and we are determined to continue to consistently develop them."

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CSO: 2400/191

PRAGUE RUDE PRAVO ON PASTERNAK'S REHABILITATION

AU271508 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 24 February on page 7 carries an unattributed 40-word report stating that the secretariat of the USSR Writers' Union has rescinded its decision on Boris Pasternak's expulsion from the organization, and on page 4, in the "New Books" column, it reports that the Odeon Publishing House "has prepared, under the title 'Ethereal Trails,' the anthology of prose works of the Soviet Poet Boris Pasternak, together with his essays about prominent artists."

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CSO: 2400/191

HOFFMANN DISCUSSES SHORTCOMINGS AT TRADE UNION CONGRESS

AD040957 Prague PRACE in Czech 16 Feb 87 p 2

["From" the speech by Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, delivered at the Czech Congress of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in Prague on 13 February: "Dignified Contribution To Good Preparation of the 11th All-Trade Union Congress"]

[Excerpts] On the basis of the reports on the course of the annual membership meetings and conferences in primary organizations, on district and regional trade union and all-trade union conferences and republics' trade union conferences, and on the basis of the course of your congress to date, I can note that the overwhelming majority of these deliberations attest to the fact that the trade unionists' have understood their responsibility for the further positive development of our country, for realizing the CPCZ's policy that was approved by the 17th Congress, and for achieving a 3.5-percent annual growth in national income as the necessary conditions for a further increase in the standard of living of the people of the CSSR.

However, the positive assessments made by the tens of thousands of annual membership meetings and the hundreds of conferences on all levels must not obscure the fact that there were annual meetings and conferences at which a similar attitude was not manifested, where the importance of the 11th All-Trade Union Congress in the life of the entire Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] was underestimated, where serious shortcomings cropped up in the preparations for and in the course of trade unionists' deliberations, where a considerably formalistic approach was manifested, as well as the lack of effort, pragmatism, and responsibility on the part of the appropriate functionaries. We also must not ignore the fact that at many annual membership meetings which had a high standard and were marked by a critical spirit, a series of shortcomings—often long-lasting shortcomings—was pointed out, the elimination of which is the fundamental prerequisite for advancement, for increasing the standard and effectiveness of trade union activity.

We must continue to recall two momentous circumstances. First of all: the fact that not all functionaries, and not even all ROH agencies, are developing efforts that correspond to the demands of the Fifth Plenary Session of the Central Trade Union Council [URO] of 1983 to resolve problems and eliminate

shortcomings in trade union activity, or that correspond to the requirements of the strategy of acceleration, restructuring, and the current urgent tasks. And second: One cannot but repeat with regret that the considerable efforts expended by our huge aktiv that numbers 1.75 million functionaries does not yield corresponding results. The majority of them work selflessly, participate actively in the development of trade union life, and show an endeavor to resolve problems and eliminate shortcomings, but the results achieved do not correspond to this by far.

As the previous congress, I must note that the State Electric Power Inspectorate still notes a considerable and absolutely unnecessary waste of fuels and energy, numerous losses that could easily be eliminated. In 1986 operative [operativni] checks were carried out in 408 organizations, concentrating on shortcomings in the thrifty use of fuels and energy; deficiencies were ascertained in 283—or almost 70 percent—of them, with eliminable losses amounting to 54,000 metric tons of standard fuel. According to data supplied by the State Electric Power Inspectorate, in some organizations the ascertained eliminable losses amounted up to 10 percent of their annual energy consumption.

In a similar manner, one could also analyze the problem concerning the relation between product quality and the working people's initiative. We have at our disposal a mass of data supplied by INSPEKTA on considerable but also eliminable shortcomings in products destined for export. Whereas in 1983 12.5 percent goods checked were faulty, in 1986 this figure was already 20.5 percent (amounting to about Kcs4.3 billion). And there are manufacturers who had 50, 70 and an even greater percentage of their products temporarily prevented [pozastaveny] from being shipped in 1986. Only with difficulty is it possible to imagine the proportion of poor quality goods destined for the domestic market, which thus far is not subject to such checks.

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CSO: 2400/191

BRATISLAVA TRADE UNION CONGRESS SESSION ENDS

LD211857 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 21 Feb 87

[Text] The Slovak Congress of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement ended in Bratislava today. Present at the closing session was the delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CPSL Central Committee, the Central Committee of the Slovak National Front and the Slovak Government headed by Jozef Lenart, and the delegation of the Central Council of Trade Unions headed by Karel Hoffmann.

The resolutions adopted instruct trade union organizations to create conditions for active participation of workers in the management of production, developing workers' initiative, and improving care for their working and life conditions. The delegates also approved letters of greeting to the CPCZ Central Committee, the CPSL Central Committee, and the Central Council of Trade Unions, in which they express support for the policy of the party and give assurances that they will take part in its fulfillment with their creative and enthusiastic work.

In the closing speech, Ivan Gonko, chairman of the Slovak Trade Union Council, described the Slovak Trade Union Congress as successful and he praised the rich discussion which enabled a more convincing orientation toward solving urgent problems. He recalled the need to create an atmosphere of high demands for work productivity, strengthening of order, and aware social discipline.

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CSO: 2400/191

REPORT ON 26 FEB MEETING OF CPCZ PRESIDIU

AD051100 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Feb 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Report on a Session of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium"]

[Text Prague—At its session on Thursday [26 February], the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium concerned itself with the problems of speeding up scientific-technical development and decided that they will be submitted to a session of the CPCZ Central Committee this March.

The Presidium also discussed the course and schedule of work on preparing the restructuring of the economic mechanism drawn up by the CSSR Government and voiced its approval of it. The comprehensive document that will be worked out and published by the end of this year will itemize the approved "Principles for Restructuring" and constitute a set of substantive, organizational, and other measures to ensure the implementation of restructuring.

The process of implementing restructuring is set out in such a way as to influence the fulfillment of the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan and, in particular, the preparation of the Ninth 5-Year Plan. Some measures will be applied in the course of 1987 and 1988. It is anticipated, in particular, that additional economic production units and enterprises will become involved in the ongoing experiment in enhancing independence and responsibility. Trade and service organizations will also join the experiment, in addition to industrial, construction, and transportation enterprises.

Carrying out necessary changes in the legislation will be an important part of restructuring. It was decided to work out, to start with, a draft bill on the socialist enterprise and to prepare amendments of the economic code, the labor code, and other legislation.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium emphasized the fundamental importance of restructuring the economic mechanism as a key part of the socioeconomic program of the 17th CPCZ Congress, of bringing about the intensification of the national economy and of raising its efficiency. It pointed out that coming to terms with it will require intensive political, organizational, and ideological work, a creative and demanding attitude, and overcoming a routine approach and inertia. It charged party agencies, communists, and the senior staff of state and economic agencies, enterprises and organizations with treating the exact and good quality fulfillment of the challenging and complicated tasks of restructuring as their

foremost assignment. Along with tackling the problems of restructuring, it is also necessary to consistently safeguard the tasks of this year's plan and the targets of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium took note of the report on the results of the working visit by Mikulas Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow and discussed a number of other issues from the spheres of domestic and foreign policy, organizational activity, and other sectors.

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CSO: 2400/191

DAILIES PUBLISH DIRECTIVE OF 19TH SYU CC SESSION

AUD61647 [Editorial Report] Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 28 February on page 2 carries the approximately 3,800-word "Directive of the 19th Session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union [SYU] for Further Improving the Political-Organizational and Guiding Work of the SYU's Agencies and Organizations," which was held in Prague on 26 February.

The directive consists of 5 chapters, subheaded as follows:

- I. Successes or Failures of the SYU's Work are Decided in Primary Organizations;
- II. Differentiated approach;
- III. Improving Management;
- V. Cadre Work.

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech of the same date on page 3 also carries the directive, in a shorter version, omitting chapter V.

The omitted chapter states in part that it is necessary to achieve a "more fundamental turn" as regards the best possible utilization of the central and regional political schools and all other facilities of the SYU which are available for training functionaries, and to "substantially raise the exactness and discipline in the selection and attendance of participants in individual courses."

The omitted chapter further states that "the apparatus" plays an important role in the political-organizational and control activity of the SYU's elected organs. "Its political and professional preparedness is gradually improving. However, the rapid changes [obmena] in it are an enduring problem, affecting the quality of management [riadiaca] work. Adopted decisions, conclusions, and measures are not always of the quality they should be, and they sometimes even are at variance with the needs and practices of our organization. Therefore the task of responsible functionaries is to ensure desirable stabilization, change the state of affairs when more than a third of the new workers [pracovnici] begin working in the apparatus annually, when more than 60 percent of all the existing workers have less than 3 years of practice.

"It is necessary to raise demands on the political preparedness of functionaries on all levels, introduce a uniform system in the professional training, and implement these measures in practice still in the course of this year. It is necessary to put an end to the enduring practices when we are sending people to study who are incapable of telling someone to his own face that he is not up to the function entrusted to him, and of creating an atmosphere, which prevents blatherers [taraji] and sly individuals from finding a place in the apparatus," the omitted chapter says in part.

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CSO: 2400/191

PRAGUE: STROUGAL ADDRESSES AKTIV

LD022118 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 2 Mar 87

[Text] An aktiv of Prague CPCZ officials and of economic management employees on the principles of restructuring the economic mechanism of the CSSR and on topical political tasks was held in Lucerna Hall in Prague today. Alena Muellerova reports:

[Muellerova] Taking part in the aktiv were Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, chief secretary of the Prague City Party Committee, and other representatives.

The main address was delivered by Comrade Lubomir Strougal. He said in his introduction that all our words and actions are at present being carefully and strictly compared with what is currently taking place in the USSR. The attractiveness of the ideas that are coming from the USSR results in a new growth in the authority of the CPSU, in admiration and respect for this party, for the USSR and for its leadership. It opens up space for the struggle for human values, for the salvation of their existence.

[Begin Strougal recording] The latest evidence of this effort is the statement of the general secretary of the party's Central Committee last week in which, on behalf of the USSR, he proposes to single out the problem of medium-range missiles in Europe from the entire Reykjavik's bag of questions, and to conclude an agreement on medium-range missiles as soon as possible. This step would make it possible for our continent to be free of a considerable part of its nuclear potential. Such an agreement would mean that, from our territory too, operative tactical missiles would be withdrawn, missiles that we had deployed in agreement with the USSR in reply to the U.S. Pershings placed in the FRG and other states of Western Europe. I would like to say that the Presidium of the Central Committee of our party, the Czechoslovak Government, welcome this proposal and are in full solidarity with it. [end recording]

[Muellerova] Our party has also unequivocally identified with the results of the January session of the CPSU Central Committee, the policy of Soviet communists for the formulation and implementation of which the April 1985 session of the CPSU Central Committee was an important landmark. This policy was born, as comrade Strougal said, on the basis of the most profound scientific analysis of deep processes which are taking place in the socioeconomic and sociopolitical

environment not only in the Soviet Union and in other countries of the socialist community but in the whole of world civilization. This is why our party leadership has started comprehensive preparation for the restructuring of the management system of the national economy. It is necessary for management, together with scientific-technical development and the international division of labor to assert itself as one of the decisive factors of economic growth. In this connection Comrade Strougal said:

[Begin Strougal recording] That which is most important and revolutionary will be found in the new position of economic organizations. In their relations with the central sphere of management they will lose the character of mere executors, or if you like fulfillers of tasks and plans set from above. Where is the increase in the independence of economic organizations to show itself? We assume that the transition to complete financial autonomy, in the framework of which the principle of self-financing will be implemented, will change the present situation completely. An enterprise team will be managing the entrusted social production funds and means. It will have at its disposal only the resources which it has created for itself by means beneficial for society. And it will use them according to its own decision, of course while observing rules set by the state economic policy. This means, first of all, to observe the duty of payments to the state, the duty to renew and extend the entrusted socialist property, to ensure the payment of wages and to create the necessary reserve funds. It will be on this basis that the attitude toward work and its results will be better formed than at present.

The initiative and independence of working teams will gain a true realistic foundation because instead of today's executive function it will embark on functions of enterprise. We refer to economic activity which, while respecting the interests of society, will proceed from the internal needs of the given enterprise. And because the prosperity of the enterprise, the satisfaction of its short and long-term interests will depend on the high level of organization of labor and production, on the general level of management and thus also on the standard of decisionmaking, it will therefore be very important for the staff in charge to weigh thoroughly the possibilities and means of development of the given enterprise. Each decision will have to be preceded by careful economic calculations; enterprises will have to make efforts to keep their customers and to gain new ones by offering products of high quality, meeting technical and economic standards and also, of course, by competitive prices. And this will require quite a different concept of work and thinking by management staff.

Let us not forget that we shall transfer more and more responsibility for foreign trade activity to enterprises. They will be able, on their own initiative, to enter into direct relations with partners in other socialist countries, and also with firms in capitalist states. The independence of economic organizations will be further ensured by the new concept of the draft state plan. What does this mean in practice? The basic method of such a draft will be the announcement in principle, of criteria and norms which will have long-term validity, and, above all, of rules on the division of the net income, that is profits, which enterprises create. In addition, enterprises can be set specific binding tasks--let us say the export of certain equipment, the

construction of an important ecological project, subdeliveries of a special character and so on--set by their superior central organ, but always in such a way that the principles of financial autonomy and self-financing of the enterprise are not disturbed.

We assume, of course, that such a method of task setting will gradually become less and less frequent and thus less and less important. Under these circumstances, the method of drafting economic plans will be changed considerably. An enterprise will not only be fully responsible for its preparation but will have the right to change it, with the exception, of course, of possible specific binding tasks and limits set by the state plan.

Connected with this is the frequently discussed question of outlining the structure of production programs. If we want self-financing organizations to pay due regard to efficiency in their decisionmaking, to be flexible enough to adjust to the demands of domestic and foreign markets, we cannot, at the same time, apply detailed directives as to what to produce, to whom to deliver and from whom to buy. When we say that the main criterion for the success of an organization is the achieved net income, that is profit, then, in principle, we must not carry into the economic mechanism additional criteria and tasks. The consequence of increasing the degree of jurisdiction and responsibility of an enterprise will be, among other things, that the number and range of the affairs which the main staffs of enterprises will not be able to decide upon without the labor collectives will grow substantially. People will not only speak up about these questions, but they will have the right to decide jointly about many such issues and thus also, of course, to accept their share of responsibility for such decisions.

When thinking deeply about these questions we can see clearly their ideological and political aspects. For this very specific, democratic participation of labor collectives in decisionmaking will, no doubt, mean a strong impulse for their social activity and initiative, for their interest in the running of the enterprise where they are employed. In consequence of this, their thinking and consciousness will also be altered. Alienation from work, which persists to a certain extent even at the current stage of our development, will gradually be overcome. And that is what we want. We desire workers and other working people to gain a realistic feeling as owners of the means of production and, therefore, also joint responsibility for the results of their work. This is nothing less than implementation of the Leninist idea which says that the highest degree of democracy in socialism can be achieved if and when people feel that they are true masters and creators of their work. (end recording)

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CSO: 2400/191

LENART ON SOVIET MODEL, INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AUG070550 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Mar 87 pp 1, 3

["Speech" by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, delivered at the Fifth Congress of the Union of Slovak Writers in Bratislava on 3 March: "To Enhance the March of Peace by Means of the Arts"]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Comrades, dear friends:

We have accepted with pleasure the invitation to attend your deliberations, the deliberations of the Fifth Congress of the Union of Slovak Writers. We all feel and realize that the time in which it is being held extraordinarily accentuates its significance as a landmark in the union's life and as an important cultural-social event. This is, above all, because our society has entered the new stage of the acceleration of socioeconomic advancement and all-round socialist maturity. And, at the same time, it is also because this period is characterized by the fatefulness of the struggle waged by mankind to save itself from nuclear catastrophe, for averting war, and for coexistence among nations and states.

We see both these realities—the new stage in the country's socialist development and the escalation of the struggle for peace—in an intrinsic context with the revolutionary events and changes which are being carried out in the Soviet Union and which aim at the acceleration of economic and social development, at the restructuring of society. We are profoundly convinced that the fulfillment of these objectives, set by the 27th CPSU Congress, is the only correct, scientifically substantiated, and realistic path to a new upswing in the Soviet Union, to the utilization of its potential for the benefit of the land of the Soviets and its people, and in the interest of socialism in the world. It is a path which leads to the consolidation of peace and progress, which yields benefits to nations and all mankind. Therefore, our party, too, identifies itself with this policy and fully supports it. Therefore, communists as well as persons without party affiliation have welcomed the January session of the CPSU Central Committee with great interest and sympathy, the session at which Comrade Gorbachev unfolded and concretized the line of a profound and all-round renewal of Soviet society. The Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee has assessed the utilization of the revolutionary impetuses of the January session of the CPSU Central Committee in our conditions, which concern the development of democratic principles in all spheres of life, and issued the instruction to concretely elaborate them. Also from this lectern I would like to

stress that in the bold Leninist approach and in the innovative solutions of the leadership of the Soviet Communists oriented toward the development of socialist democracy, the development of initiative, and the involvement of all the energy of the people, we also see the inspiration for and bolstering of our work, the example as to how more efficiently and with more marked results to implement the line of the 17th CPCZ Congress and to generally enhance the attractiveness and the strength of socialism in our country. We are approaching, with seriousness and responsibility, the assimilation of the revolutionary theory and practice of the Soviet Communists; we understand their Leninist spirit, their determination that socialism should develop within the most modern forms of social organization, that its humanistic nature should fully show, and we want to creatively apply these approaches in our country, too.

Your congress, too, assesses the work done from this viewpoint, and it will set new tasks. Therefore, your deliberations, which are the precursor of further congresses of artists' unions, elicit the interest and attention of the entire artistic front and broad public.

We live in an interesting period which puts on every one of us manyfold increased demands, a period which brings new conflicts in the struggle of the new against the old, against the anachronistic, a period in which new heroes of labor are being born but which also has its waverers, unbelievers, and cowards—in thinking and behavior, at work, in ethics. Readers and society rightly expect from our writers the truthful depiction of life, especially life today.

A purposeful endeavor to assert socialist justice is an immensely important component of acceleration and restructuring. Millions of people are working honestly and selflessly. On the other hand, we still have enough laziness, slovenliness, indifference, poor quality work, and irresponsible and undisciplined approaches in large and small things. Not infrequently egoism is rampant, as well as individualism. Egalitarianism, petty bourgeois greed, and the misuse of functions. In the struggle against these phenomena there is great scope for the activity of our literati, writers, and artists of all shades. We know that esthetics and ethics have always been two branches of one tree of life. The present in which we live should become an epoch of interlinked truth, morality and beauty.

When we appeal today to our artists to become socialistically committed, we do not mean humble little services [pokorne sluzbicky], but a special, creative, revealing contribution to the construction of developed socialist society. From the bottom of our heart we wish that our art would be even more active in our fatherland, that, in particular, the young writers and artists would become more involved. Let the time of youth have not only the privilege, but also the moral duty and honor to give one's best, as stated by the appeal *The Air of Our Times*.

We need fewer empty texts in books, fewer trivial songs, fewer kitsch paintings, fewer sugar-coated movies and television programs, less boring architecture. Life really demands only the best, even though not everything is always a success. Therefore, we call on all responsible officials who handle books,

concerts, exhibitions, theaters, movies, and projects to be stricter, ideologically and artistically more demanding on all authors, the well-known as well as the young ones. Only in this way will they help them to improve the quality of their products.

From this lecture I would like to draw attention to one fact. A great upswing is underway in radio, movie-making, television, and audio and video recording techniques. Digital records and video cassettes will become a mass product soon. However, we see that the participation of our prominent writers, poets, musicians, and other artists is low in these modern medias of culture, education, and entertainment, and this is also true in means of offering entertainment such as discotheques. It would be useful for representatives of creative unions to ponder this. On the other hand, it will be necessary that the Ministry of Culture, that those in charge of radio and television create for talented creators the conditions for effective participation. Our party is against ossification and formalism in this sphere; it is in favor of liveliness, of the spirit of polemics and searching, of constructive solutions. We are trying to assert cultural policy which supports all real talents, which makes possible their creative upsurge. It permits a wealth of genres and styles, a matter which, true, does not mean retreat from high criteria. The survival of mankind, international competition, and the cultural maturity of our nations and nationalities require that your congress, as with the congresses of the other creative unions, utters momentous words on how to develop culture even better with greater consistency and upsurge, how to bring it even closer to the nation.

Together with the fraternal Czech culture, with the cultural engagement and creativity of the Hungarian and Ukrainian nationalities, drawing on the experience of the culture of the nations of the Soviet Union and the box of jewels of world progressive culture, our artists will contribute to Slovakia's further efflorescence. Our writers will certainly leave for future generations a truthful testimony about our exciting times. After all, we live in a period which can be compared to February 1948, to the first bold steps of the construction of socialism. It is the time of the turning point in production into which science has been penetrating, the time of the inevitable turning point in the intensification of all activity, the turning point in social relations. It is the time of the revolutionary struggle for the new man, and it is certain that not a single honorable patriotic writer or artist wants to stay on the sideline in this heightened struggle.

The shortcomings and every contradiction of life will not become extinct automatically with the growth of the successes in socialist construction. On the contrary, increased tasks and demands will bring forth new problems which will have to be resolved. Errors and shortcomings and lagging must be criticized and eliminated from the positions of socialism. We realize that our political, class opponent likes to exploit the criticism addressed to our own ranks. That, however, cannot discourage us from the road on which we have embarked, from self-criticism, from great demandingness on ourselves.

Comrades, friends, we are witnessing an aggravation of the class struggle and the relaxation of tension on the international scale. World imperialism has not reconciled itself to the loss of positions, the vanishing chimera about

ruling the world. Propagandists of capitalism are waging ideological aggression, psychological warfare against socialism, and thus also against us. Among other things, they are trying to establish cultural imperialism, to smuggle cultural pseudovalues [pahodnoty] into our country, especially to the youth.

It is understandable that we cannot remain indifferent to such facts. One has to deal with the efforts of propagandists of capitalism to export bourgeois ideologies via cultural channels as well. We appreciate everything that is of value in the world, that can broaden our cultural horizons. However, we should not uncritically accept poison wrapped up as art, which is permeated by cynicism, violence, racism, and empty fantacization, not to mention art which is grossly antidemocratic, antihumanitarian. We counterpose such spiritual aggression by our socialist humanism, the truth about the world, the beauty of life, and the greatness of man. Work and peace for man, surviving the nuclear era, the future of mankind living in brotherhood--such is and certainly will be the answer of our culture.

Esteemed Comrades, dear friends:

In closing, permit me to say a few words about the international framework of our activity or, as it is sometimes being called, the spirit of the time in which we live. You know well that the present-day world is full of dramas, complex conflicts, and aggravated problems. One of the most urgent is the problem as to how to rid mankind of the extremely heavy burden of the sword of Damocles in the form of nuclear weapons.

On 15 January last year Comrade Gorbachev presented to the world the declaration on the total elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of this century. And what has the American Administration done? It continues--cynically and with obvious contempt for the initiative of peace-loving forces--its nuclear arms buildup, including the utilization of space militarily. It is increasing budgets for armaments despite the fact that already today one American submarine of the Ohio class has the fire power equal to the power of all U.S. weapons used in World War II. It does not miss a single chance to fan mistrust and suspicion and to erect ever newer barriers on the road to nuclear disarmament.

Part of these barriers are the recent nuclear explosions in Nevada, with which the United States thwarts the hopes of mankind that nuclear explosions will be halted. This is the way Washington continues to unfold its plans for nuclear world hegemony. This makes the striving for nuclear disarmament even more urgent; this makes the expansion of the ranks of fighters for peace even more important. We are convinced that the declaration by Comrade Gorbachev on behalf of the Soviet leadership on the removal of intermediate-range missiles from Europe in a short span of time is a strong impetus for this endeavor, which makes possible the elimination from our common European home of a considerable part of the nuclear burden.

Literature plays an important role in this struggle. As Comrade Gorbachev told the organizers of the Sixth International Meeting of Writers in Sofia, "the main thing is to help create a moral atmosphere which would regard the feverish arms buildup and fanning of war psychosis as a crime against the people's right

to life, to help create a common endeavor to preserve the enduring values of the past, to safeguard culture against decline caused by an onslaught of wheeling and dealing and the cult of violence, to safeguard it against the penetration of racist or hatefilled ideas, to develop all-round cultural exchanges and contacts, and to foster the idea of peace and friendship through the instruments of the arts...."

The outer space and nuclear epoch reveals particularly strongly the mutual dependence of the solutions of disarmament and development, hunger, ecology, and other global problems.

It shows that the budgets for armaments are not only nonsensically thrown away material and work resources, but are also instruments which are inexorably pushing the world toward the threatening catastrophe. Military production consumes much more scientific work than does civilian production. Expenditures for research, experimental, and design work per unit of military production is 20-fold higher than for analogous resources expended in the civilian sphere.

V.I. Lenin predicted long ago that the development of science and technology will lead to armies being equipped with weapons so terrible that waging war would be hopeless. Mankind must comprehend that it is a single community in which the troubles and pains of each of its members are the troubles and pains of all. In this way an indivisible unity of the individual, country, and all inhabitants of the planet is being created. As it seems, unfortunately, not even the obvious fact that an attacker will be the second to immediately die influences the policy of American hawks.

Regarding us, we fully support the projects being submitted by the socialist circles and the progressive circles in general which wish to deploy these resources against hunger and illiteracy, for the elimination of diseases which are the scourge of mankind. The specter of hunger is spreading and cancer and vascular diseases are moving down mankind, which is now threatened by a new fatal disease--AIDS. Would it not be much more useful to shift resources from the SDI program to the struggle against AIDS?

Reality forces everyone to choose between life, the health of hundreds of millions, and superperfect systems of mass killing. The world of socialism, the nonaligned countries, and the millions of unemployed people choose the elimination of nuclear weapons. Therefore, it is necessary to unmask the lies of Washington with which it justifies the feverish arms buildup.

A barefaced lie is being spread about the so-called Star Wars being an encounter of competing big powers at high altitudes, which, allegedly, we will be able to watch while sitting in slippers in front of our television sets. This is an errant deception of nations which disguises the fact that lethal weapons, threatening us, for the time being, from a distance of tens of thousands of kilometers, are to be placed directly over our heads.

At the head of the struggle for the preservation of peace there stands the international communist and workers movement, the countries of the socialist community, and the Soviet Union, which see the averting of a thermonuclear

catastrophe as their most important task. The peaceful perspective of the world needs flourishing socialism, just as socialism needs peace, international cooperation, and competition between socialism and capitalism.

Comrades!

We highly value the fact that in this struggle you, our writers, have also found your place, not only with your works, but also with your civic attitudes. We believe that with your works you will give a boost to the march of peace and life and the march against death.

We are standing on the threshold of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, which incessantly inspires progress people to implement the ideals in the name of which it was won. We will do everything to welcome this gala day with new creative deeds in the name of peace and socialism in the name of man.

Permit me to wish you, members of the Union of Slovak Writers, good health, fresh strength, creative successes in your work, and the fulfillment of your noble resolutions.

/12232

CSO: 2400/191

PRAGUE REPORTS ON WRITERS UNION CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

LD032322 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Excerpts] The Czech and Slovak writers' union began their congresses today. The other ideological creative unions--the dramatic artists, creative artists, musicians and architects--will also hold their deliberations in turn this year.

Now our cultural correspondent, Vlasta Tilmanova reports on the fourth congress of the Czech Writer's Union, which began this afternoon in Dobris.

[Tilmanova] The first day's proceedings of the Czech Writers' Union Congress in Dobris are characterized by a creative atmosphere, openness, relevance and constructive criticism. As many as 180 delegates to the congress listened attentively to the report of the Central Committee of the Czech Writer's Union which was delivered by its chairman, national artist Ivan Skala. He dealt in detail with the important values that have enriched our prose, poetry, and drama in the last 5 years, but also drew attention to shortcomings and room for improvement in creative activity.

[Tilmanova continues] The report went on to point out the disturbing fact that only 10 percent of our writers are professional writers and this obviously affects the quality of their work. It also appealed to our arts critics who should not remain silent to manifestations of ideological indifference and artistic stagnation but who, on the contrary, should encourage artistic efforts to contribute to the true wealth of our life. The session also gave a warning about non-creative professionalism and even about literary rigidity. The stimulating report by Comrade Skala was followed by a debate which included a speech by Josef Kordak, head of the delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee and Czech Government. He concluded his speech as follows:

[Begin Kordak recording] Just as in other spheres of the life of society, in the creative arts the need also arises to raise quality standards, not to be satisfied with mediocrity, and to set higher demands. We also want socialist art to fulfill its pioneering mission to probe and inform. In keeping with the needs of life and growing demands of the general public, we must also promote a critical approach in this sphere. We must have a principled attitude in creative art which has nothing to do with formalism, insensitivity and adulation. We are building on the methods of ideological influence, of winning over and convincing the people. In the discussion prior to the congress, a number of justified social and economic demands also arose. We will try to deal with everything that is in our power and terms of reference.

Comrades, it is a vital necessity for us to move forward, and to make wider and fuller use of our resources and potential. We are convinced that we will be joined along this path by the Czech Writers' Union in the deep conviction that this corresponds to its humanistic mission and the convictions of all its members. This is also in keeping with the traditional involvement of writers in the social and national struggles for social progress and to create a happy life rich in material, cultural and moral values. We wish you great success and strength in your work, and good health. [applause] [end recording]

[Tilmanova] That was Comrade Josef Kocak. At the moment, the Czech Writers' Union Congress in Dobruška is continuing with a debate, which is scheduled to continue tomorrow.

/12232

CSO: 2400/191

HEALTH MINISTRY OFFICIALS HOLD PRESS CONFERENCE ON AIDS

AU091324 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Mar 87

["stk"-signed report: "Again on AIDS"]

[Text] Prague—On Tuesday [3 March] in Prague, officials of the Ministry of Health of the Czech SR provided information on the state of AIDS, or the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, in the world and in our country.

More than 40,000 cases of the disease from 70 states have been reported thus far. This figure is known to be inaccurate, however. At least 100,000 people are estimated to have AIDS and an additional 5 to 10 million people are estimated to have been infected, but to have developed no clinical symptoms so far. A total of 4,576 cases of AIDS have been reported in Europe through the WHO, including regrettably, more than 100 children, mostly of preschool age.

The situation in our country has been favorable to far. A total of four cases of the disease have been reported in the Czech SR, one of whom was a foreign female student who has already left the country. However, 36 so-called carriers of the virus have been detected, who show no clinical symptoms thus far—12 of them were foreign students who have already left for home; 13 cases concerned hemophiliacs who used imported preparations years ago; and the rest are homosexuals. Two cases of AIDS have been reported in Slovakia and seven persons are infected, four of them foreign students.

/12232

CSO: 2400/191

TWO JAZZ SECTION MEMBERS GET JAIL SENTENCES

AU111544 Paris AFP in English 1532 GMT 11 Mar 87

[Text] Prague, 11 March (AFP)—Two leading members of the Jazz Section, its president, Karel Srp, and secretary, Vladimir Juril, were sentenced here Wednesday to 16 and 10 months prison respectively for "illegal commerce," the course president announced.

Three other members of the independent cultural group were given suspended jail sentences, he said.

Josef Skalnik received a 10-month jail sentence suspended for 3 years, while Castmir Hunat and Tomas Krivanek each received 8-month sentences suspended for 2 years, he said.

The state prosecutor, Peter Snajder, had requested more severe sentences for the five, notably a 3 to 4 year sentence for Mr Srp. Mr Snajder has decided to appeal.

The five had pleaded not guilty to the charges. The trial opened Tuesday.

The court president, Valdimir Stiborik, said: "We do not want to restrict cultural movement in our country, we, on the contrary, want to develop and improve it, and I am convinced that the accused took their activities seriously."

The five Jazz Section members were arrested last September. Two other members, Vlastimil Drda and Milos Drda, who were arrested at the same time, were excused from the trial because of illness and are due to be tried later.

Their organisation was ordered closed by the Interior Ministry in October 1984 but they continued their activities.

/12232

CSO: 2020/72

PAPER COMMENTS ON CURRENT ISSUES OF COMMUNIST PARTIES

AU111607 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Feb 87 p 6

[Ivan Hlivka article: "New Way of Thinking in the Communist Movement; Topical Issues of the World Revolutionary Forces"—passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Excerpts] /The increased public interest in the world communist movement is one of the typical features of the present period. And small wonder. According to the general opinion (indirectly confirmed even by anticommunists), the communist movement is the vanguard of the workers movement and of all forces of the world revolutionary process; it is the most consistent fighter for peace and social progress in the world./

The authority of the communists is enhanced by their steadily deepening understanding of the dialectic unity of the national and the international, since it is not merely capital and its economy and policy that are becoming international, but also the class struggle. The documents adopted by individual parties testify to the increasing awareness in the movement that one cannot approach national tasks without taking the international tasks into account. At the same time we note the disappearance of slogans which--on the pretext of incorrectly understood national interests and the parties' sovereignty and independence--negate the parties' international links and duties.

Positive shifts of ideas with regard to the issue of fighting for peace and against the policy of imperialism are also taking place in the Italian, Spanish, French, Chinese, and many other parties. The theses about the "equal responsibility" of the United States and the USSR for the arms race and the concept of "equidistance" from them are also gradually disappearing from the movement. /The situation on the class front is becoming increasingly crystallized. This establishes favorable prerequisites for the battle waged by Communist Parties for the unity of all antiwar forces, and for influencing the views and methods of their struggle./

The people's masses are more and more clearly realizing that this struggle for peace and against the militarization of space is one of the main directions in the fight against imperialism and the power of the monopolies, and for social progress. New detachments of working people are always joining this battle because they realize the topical need to fight imperialism in every

direction. Given this experience, it is scarcely possible to agree with certain theoreticians doubts about the effectiveness of the proclamation of antimonopolist slogans by the communist parties.

/The communist parties' search for their own position in the current political and ideological struggle in the world is intensifying and acquiring a specific form. Marxism-Leninism is becoming increasingly specific in the existing situation, and is the basis of the communists' creative search for answers to the issues with which today's other political and ideological movements are confronting them. This is shown by their greater flexibility in establishing prerequisites for the anti-imperialist and antiwar action unity of all anti-imperialist forces. The remarkable thing is that this is happening on the basis of a flexible implementation of the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism./

The communist parties are becoming increasingly involved in formulating and implementing the policy against neoconservatism. This enhances their authority and weight among the broadening masses, and is also reflected in the increased radicalization of trade union and other workers organizations. This trend is irreversible. The present task is to coordinate the activities of these forces. Such is the view held by Marxist-Leninist parties.

/Today the communist parties have already come to realize not only the problems and difficulties following from the objective shifts in the structure of the workers class (which thus affect the social base of the communist parties), but also how to resolve them./ Imperialist propaganda is spreading the rumor in the world that the consequences of automation and robotization, evident in the decreasing number of workers will allegedly make the class struggle impossible. However, truth is otherwise. The workers class is constantly expanding, even though its structure is changing. Differences in opinions about the future are also gradually disappearing, because an increasing number of people working in industry, and elsewhere too, are feeling the impact of technological changes on the nature of work and are beginning to see the possibility of retaining their work. This expands the base of the communist parties, with all its positive, but also negative aspects.

The new problems require extensive campaigns. The communist parties are realizing this more and more; they are also becoming increasingly aware that no successes can be achieved in this fight without the unity and coordinated efforts of communists and other revolutionary and democratic forces. Currently the main thing is to change the relationship and constellation of world forces in favor of peace and social progress. That is why the communist parties are intensively looking for, and testing, new forms of work in mass movements and in cooperation with the social democratic parties and with other workers and leftwing parties. They are mapping out the paths for mutual collaboration with them.

The communist parties are not even discouraged by certain negative experiences in this cooperation (for instance in Spain, France, and certain other countries) or by false theories about "society's sliding to the right" in the developed

capitalist countries, theories intended to help our class and ideological adversaries substantiate claims about the allegedly declining importance of revolutionary ideas and the communist parties themselves in the present period.

It is true, the communist state, that in the countries ruled by conservative forces the workers' class and the communist parties have taken defense positions; but it is becoming increasingly clear that this is only temporary. This period is drawing to an end, as is shown by the working people's actions for instance in Great Britain and the FRG. /The defense battles show clearly crystallized anti-imperialist and antimonopolist features./

Life itself is disproving the fabricated claim about the alleged inability of real socialism to stimulate the present world and the revolutionary movement in the battle for social progress, and about the alleged exhaustion of its revolutionary ideas. The example of socialism is increasingly attracting the masses and influencing world events.

/The successes of the policy pursued by the CPSU and by other fraternal parties are an incentive for new demands by the workers class in the capitalist countries, and for the communists' new way of thinking. The working people appraise their living standards not only from the viewpoint of their wages, but also from the viewpoint of taxation rates, rents, inflation, living environment, guaranteed employment, the social security system, and the role of the state and of democracy. Many parties confirm that the working people are becoming increasingly aware of the worsening quality of life in the exploitation society./

The new thinking in the communist parties is taking two paths: first, their awareness of the need to resolve issues and problems on the national level is ripening more quickly than heretofore; and, second, the communists are increasingly realizing the international dependence of their successes. This is reflected in a deeper and more critical analysis of their policy to date and of their strategy and tactics on the fronts of internal class struggle, as well as in their share in the development of the communist movement and the world revolutionary process.

This is very obvious in the change of thinking and in the attitude toward CPSU policy and toward anti-Sovietism and anticommunism. The communist parties, including those that until recently have been interpreting these issues in a most original manner, are now more and more resolutely rejecting doubts about the correct line of Soviet policy and are increasingly propagating the truth about socialism and its successes in domestic and foreign policy. In this way they are helping to break the ideas about socialism and communism among the Western population that the bourgeois anticommunist propaganda has been consistently and intensively feeding it. As G. Marchals, PCF secretary general, recently affirmed, in the West "the wall of silence and lies is beginning to crack."

The new situation is confronting the communists with new international duties. Internationalism is acquiring new scope and a new purpose. Claims about the diminishing revolutionary potential of the communist movement as an international force which are being purposefully disseminated by bourgeois propaganda in order to isolate the movement's ideas and to make people ignore its goals, can be

disproved by a specific manifestation of our movement's strength. The successes of the CPSU and of other parties of the socialist community are gradually fighting their way to the hearts and minds of the masses. The movement's authority has a revolutionarizing impact on the masses and on other democratic movements. Resistance against internationally united anticommunism must also be international. One can say that this is realized by the absolute majority of communist and workers parties.

/The truth is that the objective conditions for the international communist movement to be consolidated exist. The movement is undergoing a period of serious internal reassessment, of growing activity in the intensification of mutual understanding and of the action unity of the parties. In the recent period the CPCZ has been making a considerable effort in this direction./

A new way of thinking, and increasingly deep penetration into problems--this is the path toward enhancing the action ability of our movement in the fulfillment of its mission under the new conditions of historical development.

/12232

CSO: 2400/191

BRIEFS

CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS--CTK--The consultative conference which was opened on 3 February in Prague is being attended by the representatives of Bulgaria's Fatherland Front, the Committees for the Defense of the Cuban Revolution, Hungary's PPP, the GDR's National Front, Poland's PRON, Romania's Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, and the CSSR's National Front, who are responsible for the international contacts of the fraternal fronts. The conference was opened by Tomas Travnicek, deputy chairman of the CSSR's National Front Central Committee, who spoke of the CSSR National Front's main tasks after the 17th CPCZ Congress. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Feb 87 p 2 AU] /12232

MANAGEMENT CREATIVITY CONFERENCE--A 3-day conference on "creativity in the management of large enterprises," which began in Ostrava on 24 February, is being attended by experts from Czechoslovak technological institutes, research institutes, and enterprises, and economists from Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, the GDR, the Netherlands, Poland, the USSR, and Great Britain. The deliberations of the conference are mainly devoted to "asserting the competitive position of the new economic thinking on some markets and carrying out a fundamental shift toward the intensive type of economic development." [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Feb 87 p 2 AU] /12232

ROAD ACCIDENTS IN SLOVAKIA--A total of 26,494 road accidents occurred in Slovakia in 1986, 81 more than in 1985. They claimed 438 lives, compared with 455 the year before, and 1,653 serious and 118,310 light injuries. The number of people holding a driver's license increased by 47,706 in the Slovak SR in the course of 1986, to 1,674,848. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Feb 87 p 2 AU] /12232

NEW RAILWAY STATION--A new railway station has become operational in Trebnice, Most District, on the Chomutov-Usti nad Labem line. The new railway station, which cost Kcs5 million to build, will enhance the comfort and safety of rail transport. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Feb 87 p 2 AU] /12232

NEW UNIVERSITY RECTOR--Professor Jaromir Kolarik, candidate of sciences, a leading Czechoslovak neurologist, has been appointed the new rector of Palacky University in Olomouc. His inauguration took place in Olomouc on 11 February in the presence of Milan Vondruska, minister of education of the Czech SR. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Feb 87 p 2 AU] /12232

CZECH INDUSTRY'S PLAN REDUCED--In 1986 19 of the 21 economic production units of the Czech Ministry of Industry did not fulfill their plans. As a result, according to Czech Minister of Industry Petr Hojer, the Government of the Czech SR has reduced the 1987 production targets of the ministry's units. "Compared with the situation last year, the production of goods is to increase by 1.8 percent this year and the deliveries to the domestic market in retail prices are to increase by 1.2 percent." [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Feb 87 p 2 AU] /12232

CULTURAL CENTER INAUGURATED--A new cultural center was inaugurated in Komarno on 20 February. The "modern temple of culture" for almost 700 visitors, which cost Kcs/90 million, is also the seat of the Hungarian Regional Theater. The opening ceremony was attended by Ignac Janak, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and leading secretary of the CPSL West Slovak Regional Committee; CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Jindrich Polednik; and other officials. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Feb 87 p 2 AU] /12232

DRINKING WATER SHORTAGE--The reserves of drinking water in the Central Slovak region are "seriously dwindling." The worst situation in this respect is in Velky Krtis, in the area of the Hrinova-Lucenec-Filakovo water supply system, in Martin, and in the Dolny Kubin District. Rationing of small-scale consumers and the exclusion of industrial plants from the drinking water supply are being contemplated in some of these locations. [Summary] [Prague PRACE in Czech 11 Feb 87 p 3 AU] /12232

'HARMFUL SUBSTANCES' IN STREAMS--According to Vaclav Vucka, chief inspector of the State Water Economy Inspectorate of the Czech SR, in January this year 29 instances of "harmful substances" having escaped into the streams and rivers in the Czech Lands were recorded and investigated, and in the first 10 days of February alone there were 21 cases of water pollution. A total of 37 of the aforementioned instances of water pollution were caused by leaking or escapint heating oil. In the past 10 years, between 250 and 290 instances of water pollution occurred annually, Vucka said. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 FEB 87 pp 1, 2 AU]

APARTMENTS SIZES COMPARED--A total of 87 percent of all apartments built in the CSSR in 1985 had 3 or more rooms, but their "utility area" is "considerably smaller" than in the majority of the developed capitalist states. Whereas the "average utility area" of apartments in those countries is 84-187 square meters, in the CSSR their size is 70.3-72.1 square meters. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Feb 87 p 4 AU] /12232

TELEPHONE-RELATED FIGURES--By 31 December 1986 there were a total of 3.7 million telephone terminals in the CSSR. However, there were also 202,700 applications for new telephones still pending at that date. [Summary] [Prague LIDOVOA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 10 Feb 87 p 3 AU] /12232

SOVIET TV RELAY--The 175 meter high TV mast on the Klet (1084 meters) in Blansky Les [Southern Bohemia, cesky Krumlov District] has been in operation for nearly 30 years. A new antenna was installed today on the mast. It is intended for relays for relays of the Central Program of Soviet Television throughout

the South Bohemia region. The 2 kw Polish-made antenna will receive the TV signal from a Soviet satellite. It will be commissioned this spring. [Summary] [Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 24 Feb 87 LD] /12232

CSSR-FRG SCIENCE AGREEMENT--Prague March 2 (CTK)--An agreement on scientific cooperation between the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the German Academic Exchange Service was signed here today to promote the expansion of scientific contacts between the Czechoslovak Academy and West European countries. The agreement was signed by President of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Academician Josef Riman and President of the FRG organization Hans-Gerd Schulte. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1342 GMT 2 Mar 87 LD] /12232

TV TRANSMITTERS COMMISSIONED--A new transmitter for the central program of Soviet television was commissioned for operation in Ostrava-Hostalkovice on 3 March. On the same day, a transmitter for the first Czechoslovak television program was commissioned for operation in Brno in the presence of Vladimir Herman, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium candidate member and leading secretary of the party's South Moravian Regional Committee, and Jiri Jira, CSSR minister of communications. The 2 kw transmitter replaced transmissions on the seventh channel and cost Kcs4 million. The program can now be received on the 49th channel; the area covered is the same as the area covered by transmissions of Brno City and Soviet television. The transmitter was produced by the Polish firm ZARAT. It is equipped for receiving teletext and it concludes the last stage of the reconstruction of the Center of the Area Administration of Communications in Brno. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Mar 87 p 2 AU] /12232

CHNOUPEK RECEIVES SWISS ENVOY--CTK-CSSR Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek received Serge Francois Salvi, Swiss ambassador to the CSSR, in Prague on 2 March. They assessed the current state of mutual relations and the prospects of their further development and exchanged views on the main issues of the current international situation. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Mar 87 p 2 AU] /12232

NEW YOUTH OFFICIALS--Bratislava (sm)--The 19th session of the Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union, which was held in Bratislava on 4 March, released D. Longauer from his post of member of the Slovak Central Committee, of its Presidium, and of its Secretariat and from his post of Slovak Central Committee deputy chairman. The session also released H. Vacha from his post of Slovak Central Committee Secretariat member and chief editor of the daily SMENA. The session coopted L. Chorvatovic, J. Kovar, and M. Murgas as members of the Slovak Central Committee; elected J. Kovar as a member of the Slovak Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat and Slovak Central Committee Secretary; and elected L. Chorvatovic as a member of the Slovak Central Committee Secretariat, approving him at the same time as chief editor of SMENA. [Summary] [Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 5 Mar 87 pp 1, 4 AU] /12232

FOREST DAMAGE IN SLOVAKIA--Bratislava (c)--According to the Slovak Ministry of Forestry and Water Management, 64 percent of the forests in Slovakia are either healthy or only slightly damaged; 23 percent are damaged to a medium extent; and 13 percent are either dying or dead. The recent mass dying of oaks is receding slightly whereas firs are showing damages at five times the rate of 1983. [Summary] [Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak 4 Mar 87 p 1 AU] /12232

ULTRALIGHT AIRCRAFT--According to Pavol Domin, deputy director of the civil aviation sector of the CSFR Ministry of Transportation, Czechoslovakia is the first CEMA country to permit--as a 1 January 1987--the construction and flying of ultralight aircraft. In accordance with the rules in force, persons over 16 years of age will be allowed to fly such aircraft, provided the prescribed test and medical examination are passed. However, no individual will be permitted to operate an ultralight aircraft. The right to operate the aircraft is reserved to organizations capable of ensuring flights in accordance with the rules in force and protecting the machines against "possible theft of misuse." These organizations are, for example, the aeroclubs of the Union for Cooperation with the Army, organizations of the Socialist Youth Union attached to industrial or agricultural enterprises, or institutes of higher learning. [Summary] [Prague ZEMEDELSE NOVINY In Czech 7 Mar 87 pp 1, 7 AU] /12232

WORK STOPS IRON PRODUCTION--Beroun (CTK)--Blast Furnace No 2 in the Kralodvorske Iron Works in Beroun, Bohemia, will stop operating toward the end of this month due to its obsolescence. This will mean the end of pig iron production in the works and in all of Bohemia. [Summary] [Prague ZEMEDELSE NOVINY in Czech 2 Mar 87 p 5 AU] /12232

SECURITY PROTOCOL WITH CONGO--Prague 5 March (CTK)--A protocol on the development of cooperation and assistance between the security bodies of Czechoslovakia and Congo has been signed here at the close of the visit of a delegation of the state security of Congo, led by Director General Ngouelondel-Monga [name as received]. The visit took place at the invitation of Czechoslovak Interior Minister Vratislav Vajnar. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1523 GMT 6 Mar 87 LD] /12232

HEALTH COOPERATION WITH AUSTRALIA--Melbourne 11 March (CTK)--Czech Minister of Health Jaroslav Prokopec met here Tuesday [10 March] [with] Australian Health Minister Neal Blewett. They agreed on cooperation between Czechoslovak and Australian research institutes in the health service and on exchange visits by leading experts concerned with contemporary problems of medicine. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 0912 GMT 11 March 87 LD] /12232

CSO: 2020/72

KOEPECZI CHARGES: WRITERS HOLD ANTI-SOCIALIST VIEWS

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 21 Dec 86 pp 18-19

[Speech by Bela Koepeczi, Minister of Culture and Education, to the Hungarian Writers Association General Assembly, 29-30 Nov 86: "Literature and Politics"]

[Text] As reported by the daily press, including this journal, the Hungarian Writers Association convened its regular General Assembly [held every 5 years] on November 29-30, for the election of officers. The General Assembly was opened by Secretary Miklos Jovanovics. The evaluation of the past five years was presented by Chairman Miklos Hubay. We wish to call to the attention of interested readers that Hubay's essay-like report entitled "The Hungarian Writer and the Time" was published in the December 12 issue of ELET ES IRODALOM. From among the 617 members of the Writers Association, 444 participated in the activities of the General Assembly; of those present, including guests, 42 participated in the debate. Some parts of the debate were charged with rather violent emotion. Prior to the commencement of substantive debate, the participants listened to the reading of a letter presented in behalf of more than 100 Communist writers. The letter established a firm position of principle with respect to the recent and future activities of the Writers Association. On behalf of the governmental agency charged with the supervision of the Writers Association, Minister of Culture and Education Bela Koepeczi addressed the Meeting, evaluated the past workings of the Writers Association, and drew some important conclusions from the lessons learned. The following is the full text of the Minister's address. (Ed.)

Respected General Assembly!

On behalf of the Party and of the leading organs of government I respectfully greet the General Assembly of the Writers Association--greetings to all those who have enriched Hungarian literature and our intellectual life with their creations.

1. Our world today is pregnant with contradictions. On the one hand, science and technology continually keep presenting new achievements for the betterment of human living conditions, while on the other hand we are confronted with the

inhumane utilization of these achievements, with arms race, the destruction of our environment, with poverty and even hunger. Since the last General Assembly five years ago, right-wing, conservative trends had advanced in developed capitalist nations. As protectors of the capitalist system, these trends conserve social injustice within these nations, while outward they increase military tensions. It is under these circumstances that the ideological struggle has gained momentum. It is not only socialism and capitalism that confront each other on fundamental issues--so is the left-wing and the right-wing, and so is anti-humanism and humanism. The cause of culture has thus become an issue of global proportion. Will it serve the purpose of providing knowledge about the world, of making mankind more self-conscious, or will it become a mere manipulative tool of distraction and entertainment in the multi-national form of consumer culture?

In this respect the Soviet Union and socialist nations have endeavoured to offer an alternative to the world. As of lately the Soviet Union has made scores of recommendations in the interest of disarmament, and of providing firm foundations for peace--generally speaking, for the sake of improving international cooperation. New endeavours have evolved within socialist nations--reform processes which serve the renewal or the acceleration of socialist construction, while simultaneously modernizing [the forms of] cooperation among [socialist nations.]

We are continuing [our] reform policies in Hungary. The essence of these policies initiated 30 years ago, produced great economic, social and cultural achievements. The nation has been enriched, the standard of living of the majority has risen, the basis of social democracy and the number of those seeking culture has broadened, even if the measure and rate of growth did not always fulfill common expectations. At the same time, development has slowed down in the past years, and economic and social contradictions have increased, thanks to flaws and uncertainties in global economic conditions, to weaknesses in domestic production, in work performance, and in management. Tensions have developed as a result, tensions which led to conflicts between ideology and policy, and to a general malaise under the influence of certain elements of mood, mostly among the intelligentsia--but elsewhere too.

The 23rd Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party provided a program which we must realize in spite of our difficulties, because that program holds the key to future progress in every aspect of life.

2. The past five-year [history] of cultural development and cultural policy cannot be viewed separately from the economic and social changes I spoke about. We endeavoured to realize the spirit of the Guiding Principles of Cultural Policy during that period, by raising the general cultural and professional standards of the population, and by providing access to great cultural values to everyone. On the other hand, we endeavoured to support creative scientific and artistic work even under circumstances that became increasingly difficult. As a result of these policies, a rather wide sphere of creative freedom prevailed, one that enabled the emergence of a variety of ideological, scientific and artistic trends. Variety produced enrichment, but also resulted in uncertainties regarding the choice of today's values as far as artistic life, criticism, as well as the institutional system of art policies were concerned.

The cultural guidance of the masses in particular produced a number of disturbances. On the one hand, we continued to put into practice an aspect of cultural policy that called for the propagation of useful knowledge and of great artistic values among the broadest strata of society (we supported this rather than rubbish), while on the other hand an increase in the need for entertainment brought to the forefront the products of the old entertainment industry as well as those of today's western consumer culture--which were not always the best. Many justified the commercialization process by economic difficulties. It is true that the real level of state endowments for cultural and artistic purposes, and especially for public education has not increased since 1982. In some areas, we actually witnessed decreases due to the increased rate of inflation. But in spite of all this, one cannot say that the state has abandoned culture. Culture's share of the national income is not smaller today than it was ten or 20 years ago. The costs have risen, the needs have changed, and the institutional network has broadened. I am more concerned about the confusion of values which manifests itself both in terms of ethics and aesthetics, than I am about economic difficulties. We have been unable to develop a public attitude that is opposed to this confusion of values, either within the institutions, or among the leaders of the intelligentsia, or in public opinion. Many justify commercialization by citing the standards of the masses, and this is worse than mentioning economic reasons. This then means that we are renouncing the arousal and instillation of all new, higher level requirements, which are, after all the goals of humanistic pedagogy. In my judgment, using economic, legal and organizational means, we must endeavour to let values and the principals of cultural democracy prevail. To succeed in this endeavour we must first of all enlist the support of the intelligentsia.

In what ways did literary life develop over the past years? For three decades, ever since the appearance of the Guiding Principles of Cultural Policy, we have endeavoured to provide rather broad creative freedom not only regarding the choice of form, but also with respect to approach and method. For the first time in Hungarian history, literature has developed according to its own peculiar traits, and has become the medium for knowledge about the world, for increasing man's consciousness, or for simply passing time in a sensible manner. The Guiding Principles of Cultural Policy state that the Party does not expect literature to serve current political objectives, nevertheless the goals of good literature and those of good politics do coincide. The declaration of this principle, moreover, the application of this principle served as an act of liberation from the viewpoint of literary development. It liberated creativity from external coercion. Each writer was able to deal with problems of society, of the world and of mankind on his own volition, according to his own choices.

Thirty years of literary development proves that certain writers and representatives of certain trends perceived their functions in different ways, and that a real intellectual and aesthetic plurality has evolved. It is not my duty to analyze the various passages of literary development, nor is it my task to show values with respect to literary development. But by viewing literary production itself, I may draw the conclusion that with respect to cultural policies the principle of tolerance has prevailed, that limiting directives did not hinder experimentation and the evolution of plurality.

In its new situation, literary production has been characterized by sharp social criticism, especially as far as the art of documentaries, and the presentation of everyday life is concerned. Criticism has been encouraged by policy makers, and it was respected both by the readers and by cultural policy makers. The multi-faceted analysis of the private lives of human beings has come to the forefront. This was a welcome phenomenon. The problematics of mankind as a whole became the preoccupation of literature, and I might add that it became the preoccupation of politics and of readership interest also. In this connection, intellectual prose produced some noteworthy innovations. Increased attention has been paid to Hungarian literature produced abroad, both nearby and far away, and this literature has also become a part of Hungarian literary life.

Social criticism and the more complete representation of humanistic values in literature has suddenly gained strength, as a matter of fact, acquired a dominant position. At the same time, however, certain works showed a tendency toward negativism, neo-naturalism, and over-personalization. Apparently self-serving experimentations in language and form were not rare either. Unfortunately literary criticism does not interpret developmental trends, or, if it does, it utilizes a vantage point that does not show real values, but instead increases confusion with its hostility to principles and its impressionism, and thereby creates uncertainty in cultural policy and among the public.

3. Speaking of the situation of literature it would be inappropriate to disregard the consumers. Readership sociology has established that between 1978 and 1985, the number of regular readers of books has not changed. This is good news in one respect. It proves that in spite of television, the number of readers has not diminished. On the other hand, it gives cause for concern, since we had counted on an increase in the number of readers as a result of the increase in educational levels. The most favored reading materials continue to be historic novels, memoirs, and non-fiction. The proportion of social novel readers and readers of poetry has decreased, although the downward trend has recently stopped. The number of readers favoring best selling detective, romantic, and sentimental love stories showed a continued increase. There have been no significant changes as far as favorite authors are concerned, even if some have been replaced. The romantics and the realists are most preferred. So called light reading has come to the forefront, not exclusively for financial gain, but also because of changes in public needs. Professional publishers also produced phenomena that suggest commercialization, but commercialization is most characteristic of newspaper publishers and of publications that are periodic in character. We do not condemn entertainment and find the existence of popular art forms necessary. Our problem is that we want to broaden the readership of 'high culture', of literature that shows great value. Some charge that our cultural policies are liberal, and it is a fact that with respect to entertainment we did not apply our principles in a sufficiently consistent manner. We weakened our position by permitting the functioning of small and secondary enterprises whose primary goal has been enrichment rather than the propagation of real values. With respect to these activities there has been some initial debate between cultural and economic policy-makers, especially as long as one could not see the direction of this trend. We now have rules that limit these undesirable

activities, and it is our task to implement those rules. Prohibitions must be enforced in a more determined manner, but at the same time we must enhance the selection and distribution of leisure time readings. To accomplish this task we seek motivation from the mass communication media, from critics, and from the intelligentsia.

4. In examining the kind of assistance our cultural policies provided to literary work, I must first quote some publishing statistics. In 1981 the number of such Hungarian works published was 291. In 1985 this figure rose to 399. The number of copies sold rose from 4.7 million to 5.8 million. The concern in publishing is that in certain fields the average number of copies has decreased, that the time for publishing and printing did not shorten, and that we did not react fast enough by reprinting successful works. By 1986 we were able to halt this decrease, moreover, in that year, the number of copies sold increased by 0.5 million. With respect to distribution, I should say that book distributors accepted 19 million copies of some 700 works from the Literary Publishing House, and from the Magveto and Mora publishing houses. Here, once again, the problem materialized in the planning of the number of copies to be printed, in overly cautious ordering, in methods of distribution that have not been differentiated according to the various strata of the reading public, and in the fact that books published in low numbers of copies remained in warehouses.

Accordingly, with respect to the publishing and distribution of Hungarian literature, we have retained our position by virtue of substantial state endowments during the past five years, and today's issue is not one of conservation, but rather of innovation. Unfortunately, in this respect we are proceeding slowly. It is our intent to make the system of book publishing and distribution more flexible, to establish publishing houses in the country-side, to improve the organizational and technical aspects of the publishing and distribution of books having low sales volumes, to allow the formation of closer ties between publishers, distributors and printers, and to permit partnerships. To put it simply, we must intelligently and purposefully apply the instruments of our new economic policy in the interests of culture.

Let me add that periodicals also provide a broad forum for the publication of Hungarian literature. While in many places throughout the world the number of literature magazines is on the decrease, in Hungary we currently account for 18 such periodicals. Some of these periodicals, of course, contain other materials, besides literature. Some of them are published in small numbers, are distributed poorly, and thus operate at significant losses. This circumstance, as well as the evolution of the situation of other cultural periodicals justifies a review of our entire publishing structure, and I must add, not only with respect to literature. I am not thinking about limitations but of the preservation of our real accomplishments, about the satisfaction of new demands, and about modernization.

The financial situation of writers also belongs within the scope of endowments. I remind you of the fact that beginning in 1982 we have changed the rules governing honoraria. We have provided ways in which publishers may grant larger ones. We have established new professional fees and have improved pension provisions. I do not intend to support complacency by saying

this. All I mean is that among certain groups of writers, income situation has improved, even though I am aware of the fact that there are some who continue to experience financial difficulties.

With respect to this entire issue I would like to emphasize that politicians do not want to abrogate support for literary endeavours, and do not want to discontinue endowments. Nevertheless they expect to see a more rational system of economic management within our cultural institutions. They want to search for more flexible organizational forms and to take into consideration economic changes, changes in economic policy, not contrary to, but in the interest of cultural policies. Unfortunately, within the cultural sphere, we began the transformation of the economic mechanism rather late and under adverse circumstances. For this reason, the introduction of any reform is accompanied by great tension and runs into conservative opposition and into a lack of experience. Whatever is new has difficulty in prevailing. We have a complicated task at hand. To resolve this problem we seek the assistance of enterprises, institutions and of writers themselves.

5. Permit me now to discuss the matter of the Writers Association and our relationships. During the past few years the Ministry of Culture and Education has endeavoured to cooperate with the Writers Association. I believe that as a result of our joint efforts, we can point to some accomplishments on professional issues. Unfortunately, however, for quite some time now, it was not the debate over cultural and literary policies that hindered the productive relationship between the Writers Association and state organizations. It was direct and open debate about political issues that presented obstacles. And I might add that this had a damaging effect on literary life, as well as on cultural policies.

What was the essence of the conflict? Some members of the Writers Association, including several members of the Steering Committee and the Executive Committee, have adopted political positions which conflicted with the policies of the MSZMP, not only with respect to current political issues, but also over issues of conceptual and strategic significance, which had bearing on the entire cause of socialism.

Some members of the Writers Association questioned the legitimacy of socialism and sided with the idea of political pluralism, of bourgeois democracy. They did so in spite of the fact that they had accepted the criteria of the old bylaws which provided for the support of socialist construction, and of the constitution and legal order of the people's republic. I would like to emphasize that the Policy of [Worker-Peasant] Alliance formulated by the MSZMP after 1956, was based in the ideal of socialism and nothing else. It then follows that whoever attacks the socio-economic system, places himself outside the framework of that Policy of Alliance.

There emerged some views which attacked the system of alliance among socialist nations. They turned against the socio-economic transformation that has taken place in Central-Eastern Europe during the past forty years. In this case, we are not talking merely about debates concerning historic issues. We are witnessing the expression of an opposition viewpoint that offends fundamental internal as well as external interests.

The demand to reinterpret the tragic events of 1956 was related to this kind of thinking. The essence of this demand is that there was indeed a revolution, and accordingly, the view of the MSZMP that it was facing the menace of a counter-revolution and of restoration, is false.

In my view, the MSZMP provided an authentic and reasonable analysis of the events of those days. It did so, in order to shed light upon the attendant internal and external factors as well as upon the progression and character of events over various time frames. The economic, social and cultural developments of the past thirty years have proved that the MSZMP has done away with the mistakes of the past, that it was capable of not only remedying those mistakes but also of renewing socialist construction. People in Hungary can attest to this fact on the basis of their own experiences. Our economic, social and cultural reform processes are being monitored in a number of places by many with interest and with sympathetic support from abroad, and I might say, not only by socialist nations.

Opposition to socialist construction is also nourished by views which hold the MSZMP and the Hungarian government responsible for, and demand public debate about the fate of Hungarian nationalities in neighboring countries. No Hungarian in a leadership position would fail to acknowledge the seriousness of the nationalities issue, nor fail to follow unfavorable phenomena with concern. By the same token, there is no one who would not want to do something to improve the situation of Hungarian nationalities, but we consider and act with a sense of responsibility, a responsibility that is obligatory to all those who must consider the interests of Hungary, of Hungarians residing in neighboring countries, and of the socialist community.

It is quite obvious that among writers too there may be differences of opinion about political issues. Having differences of opinion is one thing, but organized opposition action initiated against the socialist system, the publication of highly debatable political writings in illegal publications, and maintaining relations with the foreign information media opposed to the Hungarian People's Republic is quite another. We are aware of the fact that a majority of writers and members of the Writers Association do not approve of such expressions nor of the Association becoming a forum for these, nevertheless, the leadership of the Writers Association has failed to separate itself from the actions organized both in Hungary and abroad. They did not separate themselves even when we called upon them to observe the bylaws. It was the lack of an open response that led political public opinion to loose confidence in the activities of the Writers Association.

The MSZMP and the government continues its policy of strengthening national unity. It does not seek the sharpening of conflicts, it cooperates with people of different outlooks on the basis of participation in the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic and in socialist construction. It rejects, however, attempts by those who oppose socialism, to utilize organizations sustained by the state for their own purposes and thereby to gain legitimacy for themselves. The above applies to periodicals as well.

I feel that the General Assembly must take a position on the question of whether the activities of the Writers Association and of its members respect the constitution and the laws of the People's Republic of Hungary, and whether they support socialist construction, the creative activities of writers, the propagation of literature, the formation of literary opinion, in their own peculiar ways. The draft bylaws contain these criteria. Their interpretation demands uniformity. It requires that the members as well as the leadership organizations consider these criteria as binding with respect to themselves, and that they stand up against anyone who violates these criteria. Without these conditions, no social organization in Hungary can function. I had to say this so that we could clearly see our possibilities, and the areas and methods of cooperation with state institutions.

Cultural policy makers are prepared to cooperate with the Writers Association, not only on issues pertaining to literature, but also regarding the cultural development of our nation, wherever such development finds a fertile soil, from schools, universities and libraries to cultural houses and museums.

6. What is the aim of our cultural policies? We want to continue a policy of tolerance that assures the plurality of trends, one that takes into consideration the peculiarities of literary work. We would like to bring literary value to the forefront both with respect to creation and distribution. We want to oppose what is flimsy, cheap and pseudo in every field both within the "higher arts" and within so-called mass culture. We want to continue the beneficial traditions of our cultural democracy, and we want to pay more attention to those, who for various reasons are unable to take advantage of cultural opportunities. At the same time we would like to develop a differentiated, selective policy which responds to the needs and demands of various groups. We want to stand up against commercialism, but we want to renew the system of cultural institutions, we want to make it more flexible and to transform related economic matters by taking into consideration the circumstances of a changed environment and the principles of cultural politics. This listing alone shows the magnitude of tasks that lay ahead. In resolving these tasks we count on the support of writers and of the Writers Association.

Much has been said here about dialogue with respect to cooperation between literature and politics. And we also spoke about the truth. In my view it is not only literature that seeks the truth, politics also seeks truth. And so, quite naturally, dialogue is in the interest of both literature and politics.

I speak for the Party and for the leading institutions of the government when I say that in the spirit of political loyalty and of constructive cooperation we are willing to view the Writers Association and its members as partners on issues concerning literature, culture and public affairs. For our part, we will provide all necessary assistance so that the Writers Association may renew its activities according to its bylaws, so that it can fulfill its peculiar functions in the interest of literary life, culture, and I might add, of the Hungarian nation, which likes good literature.

Thank you for your attention!

CZYREK MEETS WITH VICE PRESIDENT BUSH, CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS

AUL01502 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Mar 87 p 6

[Dispatch by Zygmunt Broniarek: "Jozef Czyrek's Political Talks in Washington"]

[Text] Washington—The nature and level of the visits that Jozef Czyrek, chairman of the Sejm Foreign Relations Commission, paid in Washington on Wednesday, which was his first working day in Washington, indicate the significance that hosts attach to his arrival and that of the entire Polish parliamentary delegation. These important events included his talk with George Bush, who received J. Czyrek both as the Vice President of the United States and the leader of the Senate. The talk concerned the beginning of the present new stage of Polish-American relations, and, as the information obtained by journalists indicates, the two statesmen did not limit themselves to merely generally reviewing the coming of opportunities, but also discussed certain specific issues. At the same time, they exchanged views on broader subjects connected with East-West relations, which acquired special significance, following M. Gorbachev's offer to eliminate medium-range missiles from Europe and following President Ronald Reagan's response to it last Tuesday.

These subjects were also discussed with Jim Wright, speaker of the House of Representatives, who is a Texan Democrat. As for bilateral relations, that part of the talk that concerned the coming visit of a Sejm delegation to the United States was of great importance for the further development of these relations. Already Thomas P. O'Neill, who preceded Jim Wright, had invited Sejm Marshal Roman Malinowski to visit the United States, and this invitation was confirmed by the new Speaker with interest and appreciation, as usage has it here. The date of the visit of the Sejm delegation was now set for next May, and even specific days were mentioned.

Although Texas is very far away from our country, the talk in question was full of Polish motives. Wright recalled that he had visited Poland in 1972 with a delegation of the Texan Museum of Western Art, which organized an exhibition in our country. He said that at that time he had toured the Old City in Warsaw. "I think," he said, "that the Old City makes clear to every visiting American the meaning of the basic Polish attitude: 'No to war and destruction.'"

Wright, who was a pilot during World War II, said that a friend of his had been shot down over Poland and that a Polish family had helped him to hide from the Nazis and to reach Great Britain via various countries. My friend, Wright continued, used to go to Poland each year to express his gratitude for that family in this way.

Receiving from J. Czyrek Professor Suchodolski's "History of Polish Culture," Wright said that he "will read it thoroughly and for a long time."

J. Czyrek's meeting with Dante Fascell, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, was preceded by a breakfast given by him for the entire Polish delegation. The breakfast was attended by about 30 Congressmen, almost all of whom are of Polish origin.

It should be stressed that for some time now Fascell continued to come out in favor of the Administration's more active--in a positive sense--policy vis-a-vis Poland. It is being said by Congressmen that Fascell, who at one time had been rather skeptical about normalizing Polish-American relations, got rid of his skepticism and advocated rapid measures about these relations.

Fascell's counterpart in the Senate is Democratic Senator Claiborne Pell from Rhode Island. J. Czyrek's talk with him also concerned the issues connected with the international situation and bilateral relations. It is worth pointing to the fact that it was precisely Pell who as chairman of the Geneva [Genevska] Foreign Relations Committee "released" within a few weeks two Soviet-American treaties that had been laying untouched for many years under the Republican government: the treaty on limiting the power of underground blasts and the treaty on blasts for peaceful purposes.

I have mentioned the Congressmen of Polish origin, but on Wednesday J. Czyrek also had a talk with Democratic Senator Barbara Mikulski from Maryland, who is also of Polish origin. This meeting deserved a special emphasis because "Pani Barbara" is famous for her active attitude toward U.S. political life and to the affairs of the American Polonia. Since a considerable ratio of her electorate are Americans of Polish origin living in Baltimore, which she represents, these affairs are her special concern. This subject was discussed in detail and in a concrete manner.

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CSO: 2020/69

OPZZ, COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEET

LD030407 Warsaw PAP in English 2335 GMT 2 Mar 87

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Mar--The timetable of the realization of the decisions of the Congress of Polish Reborn Trade Unions covers issues of key significance for the living standards of working people, for accelerating socio-economic progress in Poland and for democratic transformations in public life.

The discussion held at a meeting of the Council of Ministers and the All-Poland Trade Union Alliance OPZZ Executive Committee has confirmed that these are the common goals of the government and the trade union movement though the points of view on the ways of implementing them, on priorities and the hierarchy of tasks frequently differ.

Opening the debates Premier Zbigniew Messner expressed a hope that the timetable of the implementation of the decisions of the congress would become a positive instrument in the realization of socio-economic policies, according to social expectations and, at the same time, with due consideration given to the realities of the economy.

Vice Chairman of the OPZZ Wacław Martyniuk stated that the most urgent issues which called for immediate decisions included those of housing construction. The situation in this respect has the traits of a social catastrophe. That is why the adopted solutions must also be of an extraordinary character.

Another extremely important issue includes a whole packet of matters tied with the protection of the living standards of working people. We are in favor of decisively opposing reaching market equilibrium along the path of price hikes and freezing or even decreasing real wages. The trade unions also speak out against balancing the state budget through limiting subsidies for consumer goods because this would cause more significant price hikes in the coming years. In the opinion of the trade unions, the price and incomes policy being pursued, one directed at constantly raising prices for basic foodstuffs, consolidates and does not eliminate inflation and economic imbalance but makes the population poorer. Today we propose to reach a decision to call to life a trade union-government commission at the level of vice chairman of the OPZZ and vice chairman of the Council

of Ministers which would conduct periodical evaluations of the implementation of the respective parts of the timetable.

The analysis of the achievements of the congress made by the government immediately after the announcement of the congress' resolutions and decisions has made it possible to enrich and specify the government program of action based on the aims and tasks outlined in the resolutions of the 10th PZWP congress. The achievements of the trade union forum have also become an important premise for final solutions in the final stage of the government's and [word indistinct] works on the Five-Year Plan.

We have striven to present the most concrete timetable of action possible, one adjusted to the calendar of the political and socio-economic life of the country and, thus, one which could be assessed before the next congress of Polish Reborn Trade Unions.

The discussion was started by Vice Chairman of the OPZZ Stanislaw Bar who recalled, as a complement to the timetable, the stance of the congress on the issue of housing construction and housing policies. The congress demanded that the program of government works include in the next 2 years solutions to issues of systemic character which would make it possible to eliminate the key barriers hampering housing construction.

Vice Chairman of the OPZZ Romuald Sosnowski stated that the state of society's health was also alarming, especially that of the young generation. The situation calls for urgent, joint efforts.

The issue of society's health was also tackled by Wojciech Cuglas of the Federation of Health Care Employees. He took exception to the government's view that the Sejm resolution on health care was put into effect.

Jerzy Owiondzik of the Federation of Trade Unions of Training Cadres called for putting to rights the status of "teacher of practical vocation teaching" on the basis of solutions adopted in the Teachers' Charter.

Are we opinion-givers or a partner? asked Marian Majka of the Federation of the Chemical Industry Trade Unions. We are frequently unable to find our role in plants. We have powers to decide in small matters but, on the other hand, can only express opinions in places where policies are shaped and plans are formed. What is the relation between co-deciding and co-responsibility? I frequently come across an opinion that we are free from co-responsibility as long as we cannot co-decide. The trade unions have the same origins and idea as the PZWP. The goals are common. What stems from this is a need to show more trust in trade unionists, to equip them with greater powers than was the case so far.

Why do we have double-digit inflation in Poland and why does it occur only in our country and Yugoslavia from among the socialist countries, asked Janusz Wojtachnio of the Federation of Mining Trade Unions. Is this not tied to the fact that independent and self-governing plants are unconstrained in setting prices for their products? Why are price hikes being pushed through instead of strictly economic undertakings, he asked.

Members of the government answered questions and expressed opinions on problems and conclusions raised in the discussion.

Minister of Construction, Regional Planning and Municipal Economy Jerzy Bajszczyk stressed that the main cause of divergence between the unquestioned housing needs and the possibilities of meeting them, lies not only in the state of housing industry, but also in the state of the economy. The basic condition for expanding the housing industry is an increased participation of the population in financing the housing investments. Conditions for a considerable acceleration of the housing industry should be provided in the present five-year period.

Arguing with an opinion on the deteriorating health of the population and ever-poorer functioning of the health service, Minister of Health and Social Welfare Mirosław Cybulko said that the objective data on population's state of health negate it. He also stated that the government has been earmarking considerable means for health protection but these means should be used in the best way possible.

Minister of chemical and light industries Edward Grzywa made a proposal that the timetable be supplemented with an additional column dealing with the ways in which the trade unions would participate in the realization of the common decisions.

Minister of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs Stanisław Gerbala stated that the government has frequently been attacked for both the high level of inflation and efforts to check it. These efforts include, among other things, a 12 percent limit on wage increases this year in regard to the wage factory fund exclusively. By way of example, if the factory reduces employment, then the economized means can be allocated for pay rises. The minister also said that last year the lowest wages were uniformed and this year they were raised to 7,000 zlotys. Also an indexation of the minimal wage is expected each year as well as are the possibilities of raising this wage in factory's collective contracts.

OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz and Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner took the floor at the close of the debates.

A timetable should be conducive to efficient cooperation between the government and the trade union movement and should make it possible to control the implementation of its records, said the OPZZ leader. The agreement of intentions of the government and the OPZZ found reflection in the discussion which also showed some divergencies. After all, a complete unanimity of views would not serve the prestige of the government and of the trade union movement.

The premier stressed the business-like nature, openness and responsibility of the trade union-government discussion on difficult problems concerning both the present day and the future. Though our meetings are not easy, they should continue as despite different approach we have the same goals, he said. Sometimes one can have an emotional attitude but we must always talk with each other, the premier went on.

After the meeting, the Council of Ministers and the OPZZ Executive Committee issued a joint communique which reads in part:

The discussion showed the convergence of the government and the OPZZ intentions concerning the necessity to systematically act to more fully satisfy needs of working people.

The Council of Ministers reaffirmed its decisive will to consistently create legal and economic conditions leading to a durable growth of management effectiveness, complete observance of economic calculation and effective modernization and intensification of the economic activity, which will make it possible to fulfill social expectations.

OPZZ representatives came out in favor of the immediate implementation of resolutions and trade union postulates concerning both the most urgent social needs and living conditions of the population. The Executive Committee firmly stressed that the way of implementing the congress proposals cannot lower the level of real income of working people, above all, of numerous families, single parents, lower income families, as well as old age and disability pensioners.

The government pointed to the need to permanently increase labor productivity as the primary source for the improvement of living conditions and stressed the undertaken activities aimed at that end as well as to the objective difficulties linked with the economic situation which make it impossible to immediately meet the postulates presented by the trade movement.

OPZZ's Executive Committee recognized as a necessity to implement in the first place motions linked with the protection of society's standard of life and on its part upheld the intention to stimulate active coparticipation of trade union members and crews in the multiplication of the national income and its just division.

During the discussion, it was stated that the improvement of the situation may take place on the road of improvement of labor organization, consistent application of the second stage of the economic reform, the restructuring of the economy, the limitation of central regulation of raw and immediate materials and first of all of the breaking of administrative and bureaucratic barriers which limit the release of social initiatives and Poles' intellectual potential.

The Council of Ministers and OPZZ's Executive Committee agreed that each year both sides will jointly evaluate the implementation of the "timetable."

After the discussion on the timetable, the minister of finance presented to the members of the meeting a report on the implementation of the general directions of the price policy in 1987, defined in the Central Annual Plan.

The OPZZ's Executive Committee upheld its hitherto critical stand of trade unions, expressed in the opinion on the 1987 Central Annual Plan and the National Socio-Economic Plan for the years 1986-1990, adopted by the Congress of Poland's Reborn Trade Unions.

DELEGATE SPEAKS AT VIENNA CSCE SESSION

LD062243 Warsaw PAP in English 2218 GMT 6 Mar 87

[Text] Vienna, 6 Mar--Delegates from 33 European states, the United States and Canada, participating in the Vienna-86 CSCE meeting, took part today in a plenary meeting during which, among other things, head of the Polish delegation Ambassador Slawomir Dabrowa presented two proposals dealing with technology and technological information in the range of environment protection and with international cooperation in preparing and publishing an international encyclopedia.

Ambassador Dabrowa said that too little was said in the documents of the Vienna meeting on international cooperation in working out technologies minimizing and limiting the negative effects of industry (and other fields of man's economic activity) on natural environment.

This concerns scientific studies in the search for safe manufacturing technologies, for technological studies on working out proper industrial installations not polluting natural environment and mutual, fast and operative information on results of those studies and facilitated access to them.

Head of the Polish delegation said that the Polish proposal, presented jointly with delegations from Hungary and Bulgaria, was aiming to attract more attention of the meeting to this aspect of environment protection.

The most important points of the proposal are to encourage the exchange and develop cooperation in the range of technologies harmless to the environment and those which prevent pollution.

Ambassador Dabrowa also said that Poland had proposed, with eight other countries, the initiation of a discussion on the joint preparation of a "European encyclopedia" by home publishing houses in CSCE countries.

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BRIEFS

JARUZELSKI, PRON CHAIRMAN MEET--Warsaw, 6 Mar--Wojciech Jaruzelski paid a visit to Jan Dobraczynski, the PRON chairman, here today. The two discussed the course of and the conclusions from the preparations for the upcoming second congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1955 GMT 6 Mar 87] /9604

CZYREK INTERVIEWED--Washington, 9 Mar--Chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee Jozef Czyrek, now on a visit to the United States, met on Sunday with Congressman David Obey, member of the House of Representatives Committee for the Allocation of Budget Resources. During a business-like and open discussion, the sides reviewed the economic and financial cooperation between the United States and Poland. David Obey headed a delegation of the House of Representatives which visited Poland in March 1982. Jozef Czyrek also granted an interview to a leading newspaper of the U.S. economic and financial circles, the JOURNAL OF COMMERCE. Czyrek stressed that Poland attaches importance to basing bilateral economic cooperation with the United States on sound, nondiscriminatory principles and emphasized the potential benefits of such cooperation for both sides. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1450 GMT 9 Mar 87] /9604

ORZECZOWSKI VISITS KATOWICE AKTIVS--Warsaw, 9 Mar--Poland's foreign policy was discussed in Katowice today at a meeting of member of the PUMP CC Political Bureau and Minister for Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski with the political, economic and administrative activists of the region. Orzechowski discussed the determinants of Poland's position on the international arena as well as the outcome of the Polish diplomatic activity in the world during last years. The minister stressed that Poland's international role and significance is shifting from the political to economic plane. On the same day, a similar meeting took place in the Katowice steel mill, attended by the factory's party and economic activists. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2240 GMT 9 Mar 87] /9604

ISRAELI CP MEMBER VISITS--Warsaw, 6 Mar--David Khenin, Political Bureau member and CC secretary of the New Communist Party of Israel, has been visiting Poland between 2-7 March at an invitation from the PUMP Central Committee. During his stay D. Khenin met with PUMP CC Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek. The visitor also met and held talks with heads of the Central Committee's foreign and political-organizational departments Ernest Kucza

and Stanislaw Cabrielski and also with OPZZ Deputy Chairman Jerzy Uzieblo. Certain aspects concerning the development of relations between the PUMP and the New Communist Party of Israel were also discussed. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2115 GMT 6 Mar 87] /9604

OFFICIAL VISIT TO YEMEN--Sanaa, 1 Mar--Polish Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Jan Majewski visited the Yemeni Arab Republic on 26-28 February this year. He was received by Vice Premier, Minister of Foreign Affairs 'Abd al-Karim al-'Iryani and held talks at the Yemeni Ministries: Foreign Affairs, Industry, Economy and Education. The topics of the talks included issues of bilateral cooperation, especially in the economic field. Both sides pointed to the existing possibilities of animating Polish-Yemeni relations and expanding mutually advantageous cooperation. The sides exchanged views on the situation in the Middle and Central East, stressing the convergence of the stances of both countries with regard to the issues of this region. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1835 GMT 1 Mar 87] /9604

MAJEWSKI KUWAIT VISIT--Kuwait City, 25 Feb--Poland's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Jan Majewski visited Kuwait 23 to 25 February. He held talks with the chief of the office of the Council of Ministers, minister of information, minister for oil, minister of electricity and water, and held consultations at the Kuwaiti Foreign Ministry. The sides reviewed bilateral relations and exchanged views on international issues. Both sides expressed satisfaction with the progress in bilateral cooperation achieved over the last years and pointed out to the existing possibilities of its further development, particularly in economic-financial field. The Kuwaiti side favourably assessed the work of Polish specialists there and expressed interest in services of the Polish enterprises in Kuwait as well in seeking new forms of cooperation, including the domain of investment and industry. In the international problematique [as received], it was stressed that Poland's and Kuwaiti stands on issues of peace preservation, international security as well as peaceful settlement of Iran-Iraq and Mid-East conflicts, were convergent. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1308 GMT 25 Feb 87] /9604

POLISH-SOVIET ROUNDTABLE--Warsaw, 4 Mar--Warsaw, 4 Mar--A "round table" theoretical and ideological conference, organized by theoretical and political organ of the PUMP CC NOWE DROGI and CPSU CC organ KOMMUNIST, was held in Zaborow near Warsaw on 3 and 4 March. The debates, cochaired by editor-in-chief of NOWE DROGI Stanislaw Wronski and member of the Editorial Board of KOMMUNIST, Professor E. Arab-Ogly, were devoted to problems of scientific and technological progress and the role of the human factor in that process. The Soviet delegation together with Polish scientists discussed problems dealing with the development and strengthening of socialism, the incentives which were created for the theoretical thought by transformations taking place in the Soviet Union and other socialist states and exchanged experiences from the hitherto development. Participants in the conference also discussed the possibilities of the introduction of social and natural sciences into the process of working-out of principles of the new way of thinking about global problems of entire mankind. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2223 GMT 4 Mar 87] /9604

DELEGATION IN ANGOLA--Luanda, 4 Mar--A PUMP CC delegation, headed by Political Bureau Alternate Member Stanislaw Bejger, now in Angola at the invitation of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Workers' Party CC (MPLA-PT), is holding talks on further development of interparty and interstate cooperation. During a meeting with member of the MPLA-PT CC Political Bureau, Minister of State for the Production Sphere Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem, sides exchanged information on the internal situation in both states and discussed issues dealing with the development of bilateral relations, especially economic relations. Members of the PUMP CC delegation also toured the sea port in Luanda and met with the port's management. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2226 GMT 4 Mar 87] /9604

NEW AMBASSADORS--Warsaw, 4 Mar--Three new Polish ambassadors were appointed today by the Council of State. Bernard Bogdanski was appointed the extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador to Peru, Jan Bojko to the Democratic Republic of the Sao Tome and Principe Islands, in addition to his capacity as ambassador to Angola since 1984, and Czeslaw Dega to Jamaica, in addition to his capacity as ambassador to Cuba since 1985. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 0054 GMT 5 Mar 87] /9604

FRENCH COMMUNISTS VISIT SILESIA--Warsaw, 8 Mar--A five-member delegation of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais Federation of the French Communist Party headed by Central Committee member, first secretary of the Federation of Lens, deputy to the National Assembly Remy Auchede arrived in the Katowice Voivodship, southern Poland. Yesterday the French guests met with PUMP CC Political Bureau alternate member, first secretary of the Voivodship Committee Bogumil Ferensztajn and other members of PUMP Voivodship Committee in Katowice. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1727 GMT 8 Mar 87] /9604

POLISH-FINNISH SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION--Helsinki, 26 Feb--A Polish-Finnish agreement on scientific exchange and cooperation was signed here today by representatives of the Polish Academy of Science PAN and the Finnish Academy. Sides decided to increase the general length of scientific scholarships in both countries held on exchange basis. The agreement also provides for more frequent scientific conferences and symposiums. Polish-Finnish scientific cooperation developed especially favorably in such fields as physics, cybernetics, geophysics, biomedicine, oceanography, and agricultural sciences. The document was signed by PAN vice chairman, Professor Adam Urbanek and Chairman of the Finnish Academy Erik Allardt. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1254 GMT 26 Feb 87] /9604

WARSAW TV NEWSCAST CHANGES--Warsaw, 26 Feb--The main TV news bulletin broadcast daily by both channels of the Polish Television at 1930 hours Warsaw Time [1830 GMT], will cease to be broadcast by Channel Two as of this coming March. Channel Two will fill the gap with a 15-minute daily Panorama presenting highlights of the day. Also other changes are expected in the daily arrangement of programs on the Polish TV to be introduced next month. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1836 GMT 26 Feb 87] /9604

CZYREK MEETINGS IN NEW YORK--Washington, 10 Mar--Jozef Czyrek, Witold Lipski and Aleksander Legatowics, who are visiting the United States representing the Polish Sejm's (parliament's) Foreign Affairs Committee, met with top executives of the Chase Manhattan Bank in New York yesterday. Vivid exchange of views with representatives of America's third largest bank covered prospects of economic cooperation between Poland and the United States and measures that should be taken to deal with world indebtedness. Later in the day on Monday, the Polish parliamentarians met with the U.S. chief Jewish leaders, including Edgar Bronfman, head of the World Jewish Congress, and Moris Abrams, chairman of the Federation of Jewish Leaders in the United States both of whom headed a delegation of the World Jewish Congress to Poland in 1985. They also took part in a seminar at the Institute for East-West Security, where Czyrek delivered a speech on Poland's role in the East-West relations and answered questions on international situation, particularly disarmament issues. Yesterday's time-table included also a meeting with the editors and chief writers of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, where Czyrek answered questions about the direction of Poland's socio-economic development, especially the implementation of the economic reform. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1534 GMT 10 Mar 87] /9604

CSO: 2020/69

EVOLVING ROLE OF 'ALTERNATIVE MOVEMENTS' TRACED

Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jan 87 pp 9-11

[Article by Aleksandar Cvetkovic: "Far From the Madding Crowd"]

[Text] Asia has its Beijing movement, Europe its Paris movement, and we our alternativist movement. The currents come from the cradle of Slovenia: peaceniks, environmentalists, religious activists, refuseniks, antinukists, gays, and feminists.... In the pause between two democratic discussions they read Pearl Buck closely and ask each other "What's up?"

Since last June they have no longer been a happy family. At the 12th congress of their organization young people confirmed from the speaker's rostrum, and the "audience" came to believe that they represented a segment of society no better nor worse than the rest. Yet more was expected of them. They all but exceeded something which before them did not bypass even the vanguard of the working class. Mutual accusations and divisions motivated by what was referred to as the local, regional, provincial, or republic interest. The Yugoslav interest cropped up here and there, but otherwise figured as a fat lie.

The increasingly frequent grumbling from the provinces concerning the constitutional amendments which have been announced are causing headaches in the party. The Slovenian youth leaders placed the unified action of the SSOJ [Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia] in a lead frame (harness)—at least that is the impression of the federal leaders. By their "unprincipled posture" in the period since the congress.

The apple they are fighting over is referred to as the "new social movements," and as in the fairy tale it is half red and half green. The sorting out as to who has taken what bite out of it has gone on now, even officially, for 6 months.

The new social movements have irrevocably entered the open Yugoslav scene since the delegation of the SSO [Socialist Youth League] of Slovenia unreservedly extended them its protection in the congress debate, thus letting it be known to everyone that they would not easily give them up just for a show of unanimity. Up until then everyone had wanted to believe that they represented only a temperamental fooling around which did not have any broad support. Since that time there have been exchanges of fire between the youth presidiums

in the form of newspaper articles, the absence from meetings (an old illness which is now becoming particularly evident) looks this time like a boycott, indignation because of obstinacy on both sides, threats of unforeseeable consequences.... Dilemmas as to whether the prior concern is the more immediate or higher-level social community (the congress in Krsko na Savi or in the "Sava" Convention Center).

As usually happens when kids get in an argument, their elders quickly become involved so that no windows get broken.

The new or alternative social movements (associated with the Republic Conference of the SSO Slovenia) or, by name: the peace movement, the environmentalist movement, the religious movement, the feminist movement, and the gay movement did not even dream (though they certainly longed for it) that 2 years after their establishment they would be kindling tempers throughout the country, from the local community to the Federation. Although they are not a Slovenian curiosity, thanks to their recent initiatives in Ljubljana they have captured priority in media treatment. Small action teams and coordinating bodies are their working groups. They do not have a tight organizational structure. They have proven by their existence that they live in a country with open borders crossed not only by people, but also by ideas. They have been fiercely attacked as a foreign body in our social tissue. The system has not yet read them the riot act, but it is being prepared.

Even though they have been written about at length in recent months, to a large extent no one has yet said exactly what they are. Certain of their provocative moves have caused a chain reaction in the political, scientific, and lay communities--and then later the discussion began of the future for the new social movements in general.

(New social movements are emerging in the world wherever there is a danger of the "omniscience" of the state being proclaimed a dogma and of its imposing its authority against the will of the citizenry. Up to now we have looked on such things as occupation of nuclear power plants or "living peace chains" around military bases with official benevolence, since they were at the same time confirming the ideological construct as to the shortcomings of bourgeois democracy. The disturbing dilemma has to do with where they came from in self-management socialism?

There is in any case a paradox in the new social movements in that there is a great disproportion between the support they have in the public (in the world), indeed in that segment made up by young people and a large portion of the intellectual public--while at the same time they have little political influence in both relative and absolute terms. They do not have, and probably should not have, political power in the conventional sense. It is important to them that their relation to official authority is not a direct one.)

The greatest controversies were aroused by their proposal for instituting the possibility of serving the period of compulsory military service in civilian life and for abolishing the successive penalties for those who refuse to do military service. Extensive documentation was also offered on how this issue

is dealt with in the advanced countries of Europe, including a brief as to why we need this.

They regard the initiative as a short-term and long-range demand. They feel that the short-term demand, abolishing the successive penalties, has to be put on the agenda with the greatest urgency for several reasons. First, because Yugoslav society has shown itself in the world to be authentically humane. The example of Ivan Cecko (a member of Jehovah's Witnesses) shows that the possibility exists in the present practice of the courts for such a person to spend an entire decade in jail. How can such a person be a friend of a system which rejects him out of hand, they ask themselves. At the same time, in MIROVNI BILTEN [PEACE BULLETIN], No 5, there is an article that reads as follows: "By order of Comrade Tito the general staff issued Order No 265 on 28 September 1960 to the 3d Army District stating that after serving their sentence our religious believers could not be convicted once again and sent to prison for refusing to bear arms" (excerpt from a letter of the Nazarene Religious Community to the president of the SFRY Assembly). Incidentally, Romania is the only European country in which the institution of repetition of punishment exists.

The long-range demand is for recognition of "protest based on conscience." In their opinion, this would only increase the country's defensive capability, since in a possible future war "all would not be everything," as indeed they have not been up to now, but rather the existing division of labor would make it possible to include those people in unarmed forms of resistance. This would also reduce the number of potential opponents to taking up arms who today are feigning various illnesses before draft boards (out of fear of the Draconian punishment) and thus are excluding themselves from any sort of contribution to defense of the homeland. In any case, they emphasize that in all countries which recognize "protest based on conscience" the criteria are tightened if an increase in the number of potential candidates is noted.

The response was instantaneous and stormy. Unfortunately, the opponents of this initiative did not take any pains to present the facts given above to the broad public, but they relied on the conditioned reflex of the people upon mention of "freedom-loving traditions." Although not fully stated, this attitude suggested fear of a large-scale dodging of the military obligation by the young generation. The "peaceniks" are accused of attacking the "unified YPA, the principle of equality of all citizens before the law, of failing to understand that it is an honor and an obligation to do military service, that there cannot and must not be anyone who is privileged." High military officials have let it be known beyond any doubt that these actions and ideas are aimed directly against the security of national borders and that elements of a struggle for power can be recognized in their activity as well as a linkage to the oppositionist forces within and outside Yugoslavia. The Slovene "alternativists" are involved in the "Three-Country Committee" whose members also include the movements of Austria and Italy and which holds joint working meetings and organizes protest demonstrations. The temperature was raised even more by the particularly sensitive mention of sales of our weapons to liberation movements in the world, whereby the peaceniks meant in their way to point up the threat to the principles of our foreign policy (moral and material aid to all the progressive forces in the world).

The next thing the alternativists took up was in the field of ecology. The devotion to a healthy environment and the disagreement with a nuclear future were demonstrated by the youth organization of Slovenia itself when it symbolically held its republic congress in Krsko, in the very neighborhood of our first nuclear power plant.

There is no way, they feel, that the problem of nuclear power plants can be solved in the face of the popular dissatisfaction which has been very clearly displayed unless the movement takes part. Especially after the exposure of the dirty work of the unidentified individuals who made plans in secrecy, probably received fat fees, for locating several (at the beginning) disposal grounds on the soil of Yugoslavia for nuclear waste (of other countries). Nor is it a matter of indifference that the "Krsko" NE frequently breaks down, that official spokesmen say "that there is no constitutional basis for instituting a moratorium on nuclear power plant construction," that another \$16 billion have to be furnished for that purpose in a short period of time, and that the chairman of the Federal Committee for Energy and Industry is a declared advocate of nuclear power. Who were all the members of the "nuclear lobby" in our country? They hope that soon they will be able to bring that to light.

The feminist movement (or neofeminist, since they consider themselves less exclusive than in the West) bases its activity on the need to "move beyond an institutionalized surrogate of a movement in the form of the Conference for the Social Activity of Women, which both in title and in real influence is only a top-heavy appendix of the SAWP," while the ultimate goal of the movement is to achieve equality of women in our society not only as a legal formality, but even in reality.

The religious movements advocate more meaningful dialogue between believers and atheists, but also a less hampered expression of authentic spiritual and cultural needs of young people. They see the address by a religious official over the airwaves of a government radio station in celebration of a religious holiday as an important step forward, one which has been taken quite recently and was a first in the history of the new Yugoslavia. This step had the support of highly distinguished people in the SAWP.

The Socialist Alliance is the place where accurate discussions are now being conducted over the position of the new social movements as a new form of association based on interest which cannot be simply ignored. However, there continues to be a refusal to tolerate the new course whereby the SAWP is by its own effort supposed to wrest itself free from its role as a transmission belt and its position in the political system. Milan Popovic, publications editor for CIDID, has spoken about these tendencies:

"If the subjective forces of socialism should continue to display that kind of arrogance, such a failure of understanding, a rejection and a discrediting of the new social movements, it may easily happen that they would be thrust into nationalism or some other kind of regressive political posture and practice. I think that this has not yet happened, but that danger does exist and is ever greater. I will illustrate this by the fact that in the LCY Central Committee

extremely differing views were presented on 11 and 12 October of this year concerning the new social movements and precisely for that reason it was resolved that the public discussion of this issue in the party and society would be conducted until the end of December. However, before the end of December the Presidium and chairman of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee brought their influence to bear to limit the public discussion through their adverse political posture toward the new social movements, a posture which was even extremely negative. Or perhaps I am making a mistake? I am not sure that such a position is in keeping with democratic centralism."

In addition to the bulletins already mentioned, the peaceniks have also published a collection of articles published over the last 2 years under the title "Cold Peace and Other Hot Topics" (conceived as the first issue of the newly initiated series "The ABC Peace Notebooks"). It contains the programmatic principles of these movements. Janez Jansa writes:

"It is our goal for the government and its agencies to operate within the limits of their constitutional powers, that those powers not be broadened, and under the pressure of a democratic public or democratic opposition that they consent responsibly to democratic reforms and thereby make it possible to establish a more independent society.... We do not rally around ideological principles, but around specific vital issues such as these: the issues of peace, the environment, religious life, and the affairs of women. We do not, to be sure, all have the same opinions and attitudes on how these issues are to be resolved, but we agree that they are too important for us to leave them merely to the government and its officials. We also feel a need to deal ourselves with the most urgent problems around us or to influence the government to deal with them in keeping with the interests which the citizens themselves express rather than what someone else has expressed on their behalf. We are not by any means opposed to resolving these problems through what are referred to as regular channels, i.e., through the delegate system, but we are aware of how slowly things move along those channels and know about the filters that exist in them; that is, we know about the almost unlimited opportunities which small groups of political officials have to exert influence on them. Nevertheless, we use those channels as far as is possible, but at the same time we favor direct action: open discussion, public demands, worker strikes, protests, demonstrations, rallies, civil disobedience, public negotiation with the government and other forms of direct action. It is evident from everything we have said that we are not interested in taking political power, but in the opportunity for personal independent activity and independent organization, and beyond that in forming a public which will be able to place a limit on the arbitrariness of government authority."

Ignac Krivec emphasizes the organizational principles of the movements: spontaneity, directness, pluralism, and autonomy, and he goes on to say something more about the concept of civil society--that this has to do with the nongovernmental sphere of society, the part of society which is not under the direct control of government and paragonmental institutions. This is not something altogether new, then, nor is it without conflict; this is a place for social conflicts, social dialogue, agreements, and action. Civil society cannot exist without a legal order, it can exist only in a legal state which

preserves the basic agreed norms of social life. Civil society also signifies a linking up of atomized society with new social movements, autonomous organizations—against alienated power centers and the quasi-real social system—and the formation of a critical awareness, an ability to recognize and resolve the contradictions and conflicts in our society. Krivec finds support for this in the theory contained in Kardelj's "Pravci razvoja politickog sistema socijalistickog samoupravljanja" [Lines of Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management].

A portion of the costs of their actions is borne by the Republic Conference of the SSO, the University Conference of the SSO, and SKUC. The rest is financed by the participants themselves. They say that they are anational by definition, even that they have suppressed Slovenian nationalism on several occasions.

Along with the episodes regarded as irresponsible (another of which occurred in December with the action of the Ljubljana university students to change the way in which Youth Day is celebrated), the carefully prepared discussion on the plane of theory aroused by the stated "manifesto" of the movement has taken place almost in secrecy. Here again, as one might assume, opinions met head to head and contained varying shades of emphasis. It turned out that the key issue in the theory of our social sciences is the problem of acceptability and unacceptability.

For Nijaz Skenderagic, chairman of the Council for the Sociopolitical System of the SSOJ, "those arguments are unacceptable which discredit the present political system and see the only salvation for our system in the SSO and indeed also the SAWP, especially the latter, becoming a 'service center for mass movement.' It is clear that very transparent political motives in which there are several elements of the struggle for power are concealed behind conceptions of that kind. We are not against spontaneous activities, but their content and form have to be on a socialist platform and adapted to the platform of activity within the SSOJ and SAWP."

Dr Fuad Muhic, professor in the School of Law at Sarajevo University and chairman of the Commission of the Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Central Committee for the Ideological and Theoretical Effort, places the new social movements somewhere between the bourgeois right and the radical left—judging by their methods and goals. The professor feels that in practice "a farcical situation has come about in which we are fighting with legal means against an illegitimacy which we ourselves are producing." The reason for this is that these forces are taking advantage of all of the interstices which the LC is not covering by its own activity, Muhic concludes.

In the opinion of Zoran Cicak of the Center for the Ideological Effort of the Belgrade City Conference of the SSO, the alternative political method which the movements use in their action cannot guarantee expression and reproduction of socialist social relations. They are even "ideological and functionally incompatible with the basic postulates of a self-managed sociopolitical system, and no independent entity in that system, the SSO in particular, should allow itself to create political coalitions, since such coalitions cannot be put anywhere except in some new mass movement."

By contrast with them Zoran Vidakovic, professor at the School of Law of Belgrade University, finds that "the place of social movements in the political system of Yugoslavia cannot be a matter of dispute so long as we take the positions of the Constitution of socialist Yugoslavia. There is not a single such programmatic document in the world, and especially no constitution which puts so much emphasis on the self-organization of the people and their free association, not only in the sense of small interest groups or occupational, professional, and similar associations, but also in the sense of people's organizing themselves to realize major social objectives."

According to Vidakovic, we ought to see why the social movements and organizations from the previous period of social development died out and why no one any longer wants to take part in their work. The future of socialism in the world, according to this author (in this he is not alone, but rather this was the prevailing opinion at last year's meeting of socialist theorists in Cavtat), lies in the updated ideas, organization, and projects which the new social movements bring with them.

"Do we want to fall to the bottom of the world, do we want our young generation to remain in an unenviable position not only because in large part they do not have financial security, but because they are not at all in a position to express the new times, to express their needs, since they have nothing through which to think? A man can neither think nor act alone," Vidakovic concludes.

Perhaps the person best qualified to speak on this set of problems is Dr Vukasin Pavlovic, professor at the School of Political Science, anthologist and editor of a collection of translations entitled "Obnova utopijskih energija" [A Resurgence of Utopian Energies], and author of a book "Novi društveni pokreti" [The New Social Movements], which is being published this year by IRO "Rad." How does he see the tie-up between the new social movements and self-management?

"The new social movements, at least their main thrust and main stream, express a social idea—not the taking and holding of power—but the idea of democratizing and socializing some subject matter within that narrow domain of professional politics and government affairs. They express the idea of socializing politics. After all, they realize that peace cannot be guaranteed merely by treaties between nations, but they must become an issue for the people in the broadest sense and an issue for each individual. The same applies to the set of environmental issues. These issues cannot be resolved without development of the concept of basic democracy, and it is here that I see the tie-up with self-management. I even think that the acceptance of the new social movements is perhaps a chance of revitalizing self-management, also seen as a movement, not just as a collection of institutions and mechanisms. The value system which self-management advocates is analogous to what is being sought by the new social movements. Both of them are against bureaucracy, hierarchy, leadership, alienated settlement of social problems, and they both favor basic democracy, autonomy, and creativity in the broadest sense."

What does the rank and file of the youth organization think about all this with respect to its readiness to somehow become involved in the work of the movements? The following results were obtained in surveys of the public opinion of young people conducted last year: approximately three-fourths of those surveyed in Slovenia expressed sympathy for the so-called alternative movements, and about 45 percent expressed a readiness to make their personal contribution. In Serbia, however, only 1 young person in 10 has a favorable attitude toward this phenomenon. Six percent would join the peace movement, 5 percent the environmental movement, and 2 percent certain other movements.

Even now what dangers (except the nervous administrative moves of the government administration) await those who have started up the movements in Slovenia? A fact which cannot be overlooked is that there are significant differences in value orientation and indeed even in the style of behavior of the Slovenian young people by contrast with the other parts of the country. Employment policy and housing policy are far less acute and are thereby less attractive issues for the Slovenian young people, while a bit to the south they are a real nightmare. In the light of that fact it is understandable that their reasoning should be different. You cannot blame anyone who in attaining human dignity has not yet conquered the economic stage for criticizing his contemporaries and fellow countrymen for developing an elitist lack of interest in the absence of those things; that is, they are demanding "bread on top of biscuits." But in the well-known substitution of arguments over causes and consequences, of which they are the least to blame, and which in turn certain circles (both "there" and "here") make skillful and abundant use of out of their own proprietary interests, they do not escape responsibility. The task set them if they want to survive is along that line of demarcation to raise the issue of accountability of those who have at times contributed to the spectacular unevenness of the Yugoslav community's economic development, and upon return to the "shelter" of their own prosperous republic to work on behalf of what virtually amounts to Christian humanism and tolerance. We remember them when they acted differently and spoke differently. Or, if they do not want to renounce their apolitical program at any price, let them at least "boast" of their support for the elements mentioned.

Otherwise, what will offer a guarantee to the young people from other republics and provinces, who in matter of fact are socially and materially handicapped, that all of this is not just a trial balloon of the "Slovene national consensus" at the moment, an "awakening of Slovenian ethnic consciousness" (and there are many other phrases of this kind) and an experiment with the stability of the premises of Yugoslavism? If they disavow such theories and see them as a political horror, the Slovenian peaceniks have the best opportunities to become a serious factor for cultural integration in Yugoslavia free of admixtures of unitarianism and centralism.

But there have been and will be more demagogic quasi-arguments to the effect that the new social movements are a form of special warfare on the basis of the very fact that one of the activists insulted the prime minister and another wrote lyrics for a punk group (which in the heads of many people is still a synonym of Western decadence).

On behalf of equilibrium among the stars.

SLOVENIA'S SETINC ON SAWP, RELIGION, PRESS, YOUTH

Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 14 Feb 87 pp 8-9

[Interview with Franc Setinc, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, by VECERNJI LIST editor-in-chief Stjepan Andrasic, deputy editor-in-chief Stjepan Malovic, and newsmen Marinko Culic and Ante Filipovic, in Zagreb on 10 February 1987: "We Are Learning Democratic Dialogue"]

[Text] [Question] You delivered the introductory address at the Third Meeting of the LCY Central Committee whose purpose was to reaffirm the role of the Socialist Alliance in society. What is left of the conclusions of that meeting today, 4 months later?

[Answer] There was too much anticipation that something spectacular would happen. Then there were others who said that nothing of any importance would take place. They did not believe in any changes at all. For them the actual draft of the views on the activity of members and organizations of the LC within the SAWP was only a repetition of what they knew.

I would say that the truth lies in the middle: we Communists have not discussed our activity in the SAWP for a long time. Perhaps out of inertia, and perhaps we really did not feel the need for it. In the meantime the SAWP has lost that breadth, humanistic attitude, and the massiveness which were characteristic of our Popular Front during the National Liberation War and after the victory. We somehow become accustomed to have the relevant political effort go forward on two tracks: the track of the party and the track of the government. Of course, the Socialist Alliance has existed the whole time, but usually shoved off on a side track.

I think that there is no need to repeat that the system of socialist self-management cannot function successfully without development of the SAWP. The Socialist Alliance must on the one hand furnish the possibility of free expression, articulation, as we say, of the interests of self-management, but on the other provide for ideological and political synthesis, or, better put, integration.

Otherwise self-management necessarily turns into a pluralism of particular interests, into disintegration.

Undertaking Changes Without Waiting

[Question] You are now repeating what was stated at the Third Meeting of the LCY Central Committee. But in the subsequent party discussion all of that has aroused rather little interest. Why has the discussion been so tepid?

[Answer] It is a lengthy process to build the awareness of the need for development of the Socialist Alliance I am talking about. Some people say that the present time is not the most suitable or encouraging for such a process. I think that this is precisely the right moment for us to ask why there has been a standstill in development of self-management, why the conditions have not been created for a thrust of creativity, innovation, and alternatives? Political life has been excessively confined to ossified forms and institutions, and there has to be a movement which will push forward with its own strength and do so every day, not just at congresses!

That is why I am not as dissatisfied with the discussion as you are. From the summaries we have received the discussion was rather wide-ranging and substantive, although there was, of course, formalism, mere going through the motions without results.

[Question] If that is so, why has the press written so little about the discussions and conclusions (it has been almost silent)?

[Answer] It is not altogether clear to me why the press has stopped reporting on these discussions.

At the beginning the news media wrote extensively about the theses of the LCY Central Committee, there was quite a bit of optimism, but later everything came to a stop, a kind of "conspiracy of silence" ensued. I am not blaming only the newsmen for this. We must look more widely as to what is involved, although if I were to judge the discussion on the basis of what has been written in the media, it would seem that there was none. Now just in advance of the plenum there are articles containing assertions like yours to the effect that the discussion was rather feeble and that this probably proves that there is fierce resistance to development of the Socialist Alliance as it was conceived in the theses of the Third Meeting of the LCY Central Committee.

[Question] But perhaps the newsmen are right after all. Wasn't the discussion organized too hastily, as though some routine topic was involved?

Let Us Stop the Endless Holding of Meetings

[Answer] Those who called for a broader party discussion were right. As a matter of fact, there was a need for us to clear up certain dilemmas and misunderstandings. We wanted to develop more of an awareness in members of the LC of the imperative that they operate within the SAWP, within the front.

In some places there really is difficulty accepting this, but that is the reason why we should not drag out the discussion too long, since we do not have much time. We need to go into action and not to lose time over whether the

period assigned for discussion was long or short, since after adoption of the views of the third meeting our entire activity must be more specific and duty-bound.

This is the criterion which we must use in the League of Communists in demanding accountability of members and forums. That is, of everyone.

[Question] At one time you announced that we needed a nationwide discussion of the strategic issues concerning development of socialist self-management. Haven't we just had an occasion to undertake not only a party discussion, but also that kind of discussion?

[Answer] Yes, it was an occasion, but not enough advantage was taken of it. That is another case of the way we operate. We raise various topics, we undertake to discuss them in the membership, but we think that each of them must travel its own track. This is a big mistake. And a pity, since we are losing a lot of time, we are spending too much time in endless meetings, and the results do not measure up. We have to develop an awareness of the linkage between the various topics and tasks. That applies even to the LCY Central Committee. We undertook discussion of the activity of members and organizations of the LC within the SAWPY on behalf of a better understanding of the strategic issues in development of socialist self-management, and there are also certain other issues which are related to this--the methods of operation of the LC, the ideological effort, the ideological struggle, and so on.

Lost Time

[Question] Another objection to the theses of the third meeting is that they merely reiterate Kardelj's "Lini razvoja..." [Lines of Development], but no one has said why it is necessary today, all of 10 years later, to "reiterate" that book which was also the document of a congress. How relevant is that book by Kardelj today?

[Answer] You are right. I wonder why after that book of Kardelj's and the 11th Congress of the LCY we did not do more toward the further development of the SAWP and more effective functioning of the entire political system of socialist self-management. That is something we should have done. But between the 11th and 12th congresses we lost too much valuable time and allowed the problems and deformations to pile up. In saying this I am also answering part of the question about the relevance of Kardelj's book. I think there is no dispute about that.

[Question] In his conception of a pluralism of interests (but also of ideological pluralism) Kardelj set up one limit, but an essential one, that pluralism was not to become a struggle for political power. But in some of the party personnel even today there is a smoldering fear that this would put the "Social Democrat stamp" on the League of Communists. How justified is that fear?

[Answer] We often see danger in various new social movements, in spontaneous action (which is not the same thing as action that is out of control), but we

do not see or do not want to see that there could also be a struggle for power within our institutions, even within the individual segments of the LC.

The fear in a segment of the party personnel which you mention could not withstand a well-argued discussion. Such people favor Kardelj's vision of the Socialist Alliance in what they say, but as soon as they hear something in that Socialist Alliance their ears are not used to, they become afraid.

The fear of the "Social Democratic stamp" would be justified only if we continue to underestimate the Socialist Alliance. That is, in so doing we would be encouraging both extremes whether we liked it or not--the "Social Democratic" (in the sense of competitive relations and partnership) and also the dogmatic extreme, which favors a return to one-party monopoly (which in fact is not a return, since all that would be needed is to strengthen the elements that already exist).

Enemies and "Enemies"

[Question] Sectarianism is usually talked of only when it comes to religious people, but that obviously is not the whole truth about it.

[Answer] I agree with you. There is more and more sectarianism concerning other important issues, say, concerning the need for greater involvement of nonmembers of the LC in the bodies of leadership of the SAWP and the like. The same applies to the attitude toward "enemies," since at times in our powerlessness and inability to find arguments we proclaim to be enemies even those who are not or who ought not to be if we make an effort to win them over. I am certainly in favor of our waging a fierce fight against notorious enemies, but at the same time we have to be capable of listening to people who do not think like we do.

[Question] Recently you referred to the SAWP as the "broadest alternative movement." Aren't you thereby exposing the flanks to those who are loudly expressing a fear of partnership between the SAWP and the LC?

[Answer] What I actually did was to arouse mistrust on the part of some activists, who accuse me of things which I did not advocate at all. Some are afraid of the word "alternative" as the Devil fears the cross. But what did I actually mean to say? Certainly not that the SAWP must be an alternative to the League of Communists in the sense of competitive relations or introducing a two-party system. Indeed I have written a number of articles and books on the subject and have given many interviews which clearly show what my view on this is. Why is there so much mistrust among us? Who gains from it?

The broadest alternative movement in Kardelj's sense is that which represents a constructive "shadow government" not in the sense of a struggle for power, but in a progressive and creative sense, that is, a creative alternative for new and stronger breakthroughs in the struggle for progress. After all, it presumably will not always be government bodies and agencies which take the initiative, especially when they come forth with bad or nonsensical solutions. And it would be good if that monitoring role of the Socialist Alliance were

performed in such a way as to also reexamine that orbit, which is at times excessively rigid, whereby the same people keep revolving although they have not shown any inventiveness whatsoever, much less any responsibility.

[Question] You said in the introductory address delivered at the Third meeting of the LCY Central Committee that more attention should be paid to "various informal movements, especially of young people." Do you have anything to add to that or take away after the stormy discussions conducted recently concerning what are referred to as alternative movements?

[Answer] I would not add anything or take anything away. (F. Setinc offered us to accompany this brief answer a statement of his own which he called "New Social Movements." We publish it here in its entirety.)

Slovenian Initiatives

[Question] Because of a number of initiatives Slovenia has recently been at the focus of attention of the Yugoslav public. Does it bother you that there has mainly been no support from outside, so that it somehow turns out that something is being sought in Slovenia that is not in the interest of others or is even opposed to that interest?

[Answer] It is a pity that the attention of the Yugoslav public is not centered more often on Slovenia, especially when it comes to the fundamental issues of our development.

Slovenia is the most advanced republic, but it also has the "most advanced problems" and that fact entitles it to speak clearly and bravely about its own experiences, including what is at the moment bad in Yugoslavia and drawing us into a dangerous mediocrity. We have to resolutely oppose the mentality which holds that we have a miraculous system in Yugoslavia in which it is possible to satisfy an ever greater consumption at a low level of productivity.

[Question] Many objections have come in concerning the support which the Slovenian leadership has given to the initiatives of Slovenian young people. Some of the newspapers have referred to you personally, saying that contrary to what you otherwise advocate, you have been trying to oppose a minority position on others in the country.

[Answer] The Slovenian leadership did not give its unreserved support to all the initiatives of Slovenian young people, but merely said that those initiatives are legitimate (they were expressed in the youth congress) and that they need to be discussed in a democratic manner, backed up by argument, and without name-calling. But not even in Slovenia does everyone think the same way about this. I have not only been mistakenly interpreted, but even insulted. STUDENT in Belgrade literally said that there is no place for me in the League of Communists, since my behavior is Social Democratic.... What can you do? Both insults and stupidities have their legitimacy, and they have to be bested above all by the force of arguments.

How We Conduct a Debate

In an interview with TV Ljubljana I have just spoken about the views of the two presidencies, and in that framework a newsman asked me what I thought about those initiatives. Then came our well-known method of debating with those who do not think like we do: someone plucks out a quote which suits him, then someone else takes a still smaller quote from that quote, and so on.... Until in the end someone writes that I have been supporting the enemy. If that is what they have to do in order to move faster along their road under the motto of "the worse it is, the better it is," then this is not something which should be disturbing to Setinc alone.

[Question] There have been many controversies, especially about the Christmas greetings of J. Smole, chairman of the Slovenian front, and Dr A. Sustar, metropolitan of Ljubljana, which was also discussed in the Federal Conference of the SAWPY. What do you say about the criticism that there should have been consultation with others, and then the still more severe criticism to the effect that perhaps this is just the "first step," that in the end it could have unforeseeable consequences, or even that this is a practice that is unconstitutional?

[Answer] We have overpoliticized everything. The church in our country is truly separate from the state, but it is not set apart from society. In normal human relations the respect for people, for their personality, and indeed for their religious or other, let us say, philosophical, beliefs, must prevail.

Yet some people think that everything has gone too quickly. Yesterday we did not have the courage or determination to utter the very word Christmas, and today the radio is already broadcasting greetings from the archbishop. And I wonder what will happen when the pope has his own satellite, and the masses and greetings will be broadcast into every house that wants it. The church defines its own dimensions of freedom insofar as it is able to resist politicization and the tie-up with antisocialist tendencies in society. I think that that idea of Kardelj's is also important to understanding what has happened in Slovenia. It would, of course, be good if there were more coordination, more mutual notification of these things.

Mistakes About Religion

There is something else that should be added to all this. It is not just in other communities that there was surprise, but also in Slovenia, and we also had highly politicized articles there. But people should realize that in the end conditions in Slovenia are specific to a large extent.

This is not just the result of the different behavior of the church or the archbishop, Dr Sustar, but also of the lengthy endeavor of the socialist forces, above all the LC, for them to take the same principled attitude both toward clericalism and toward sectarianism. Some continue to take a beneficent attitude toward sectarianism, as though it were only "aesthetically" unacceptable, but otherwise fits within socialism. That is a great error.

Our basic position must be not to allow people to be divided into those who are religious and those who are not. The working people cooperate on an equal footing as self-managers regardless of their way of life, convictions, their view of the world, and so on. They have problems in common, and they are not divided into those who are religious and those who are not. The dialogue among them must be imbued with mutual trust and respect. Any politicization of this dialogue can only play into the hands of the clericalists and sectarians.

[Question] Will the practice of Christmas greetings be continued?

[Answer] You will have to put that question to the SAWP Slovenia. It should not be forgotten in this connection that Comrade Smole did not emphasize Christmas as a religious holiday, but as a custom which has value for many atheists as well. I would also recall that during the National Liberation War our Partizan units went into the churches in order to show respect toward their fellow fighters who were religious and to eloquently refute those who said that Communists persecute religion and the church.

That is why it should be said to those who take up the constitution when it comes to the church that even in the constitution the leading place is not given to what should be prohibited, but to what promotes more freedom and democracy. Finally, why would we not assume that new social relations could also have a constructive influence on the church itself?

What Kind of Press

[Question] Finally a question related to the duties you have in the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, where your field is information. Since the 13th LCY Congress the Presidium has twice discussed the press, and then once again in the context of the preparations for the "ideological plenum." So, isn't all that interest in the press out of line with other important topics, above all those of the economy?

[Answer] There are two things which are disturbing here. One is the increasingly evident fashion of putting the situation in society in a bad light, spreading distrust among people and nationalities, and second the partialization of information. That is why I would not say that it is out of line with economic topics, but is even closely related to them. When I say that I certainly do not mean that we should now start some campaign against newsmen and journalism. I think that at the same time we should discuss newsmen, politicians, openness to public scrutiny, the code, and the ethics of public speech. A dialogue cannot be conducted from two different shores. When you take a better look, you will see that various overexcited assessments of the work of newsmen are only a consequence of the fact that there is no dialogue, of the fact that discussion is not initiated in editorial offices, in basic organizations of the LC, in associations of newsmen, and so on. Mitja Gorjup once said that we need a constant ideological concern about how to distinguish self-management from technobureaucratic manipulations and authentic party spirit from dogmatism. Otherwise we will be constantly swimming between a controlled press, a press that functions as a transmission belt, and a liberalistic press.

And now just a word or two more about painting the situation in society in a bad light which I mentioned. Some people say that we have more stupidity taking place in society every day than there is room for in the newspapers. That is true, but it doesn't give anyone the right to present the situation in society as though it were all one vast dump. Nor is the fact that we have not been highly successful in finding ways out of the crisis any justification for looking at everything from the pathological angle. That needs to be clearly stated.

[Box, p 8]

The New Social Movements

I, of course, am not able to make a "detailed study" of the new social movements toward which we should not adopt an attitude of intolerance in advance. We should take into account that both the SAWP and Student Youth League, as they now stand, are unable to express all the interests which do arise in our society.

It would be ideal if we had an SAWP capable of developing forms of activity and the kind of communication through which new ideas, initiatives, and criticism would flow on an everyday basis, if it were able to objectively evaluate them, weigh their true value, and then accept what is good and reject what is not good or would even be harmful to our society. This would significantly vitalize self-management and would fill it with new forms and a richer content.

Harmful Name-Calling

We would do the greatest harm if we simply rejected them or even labeled them as being hostile. We must not do this because most frequently they are expressing real social problems and needs even though their ideological point of departure is not always what it should be and regardless of whether they are always looking for something new in the right direction. What we have most to fear is extinguishing the commitment of young people to socialism. At the same time we must certainly protect ourselves from the danger of manipulation and abuse of such movements for antisocialist and anticommunist objectives, and there is also some of that.

When we provide support to the right to free expression of legitimate demands we cannot at the same time be silent about the truth that there are also individual flagrant attacks and even insults to our institutions and individuals. Individuals have been criticizing society for being intolerant toward their initiatives, but at the same time they themselves firmly defend their views without showing a readiness to listen to the arguments of others. This certainly applies as well to some young people who have emerged under the banner of the so-called alternative movements. That is why they also bear a part of the blame for the fact that many people in other parts of the country did not understand them or rejected their initiatives.

Alternative Is a "Terrible Word"

Of course, we cannot accept everything that has been appearing in these movements. Sometimes there is a contradiction manifested in the fact that on the one hand we say that all the problems of society are at the same time the problems of young people, while on the other a portion of the young people become intensively committed only to resolving a part of the problems (the question is whether they are always the most important ones). Quite often the position based on age is provocatively substituted for the position based on class, which is not alright either. At times we are unable to defend ourselves from the impression that some of the young people wish to affirm themselves only in a conflict with present reality as a whole, with the excuse that there are no possibilities whatsoever within the existing institutions for any kind of useful social commitment. There are also those who do not want to concern themselves with the possibilities that exist in society for them to show greater social commitment.

But there is also another side to the problem. Some people react nervously to the new initiatives of young people, show no readiness to examine them, study them, and evaluate their true value. They are afraid, as I have already said, even of the very word "alternative." Often those same people are not bothered by the real alternatives which emerge in our society in the form of monopolies, informal structures, centers of alienated power, and the like. Mutual disagreements, friction, and struggles for prestige, which at times bear the characteristics of Western pluralism of political parties, with the sole difference that in our case we do not have any rules of the game at all, do more harm to our society than the new social movements.

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